

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: H. L. HUNT

FILE: 62-HQ-108867

PART 2 OF 3

62-108867

H. L. HUNT
1704 MAIN STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

July 25, 1963

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In always trying to find something which will work, I have come up with the enclosed.

I attended a revival meeting where they were getting an average of about 9 converts per night. The preacher did a real good freedom talk in his sermon and when he got them started coming up front, there were a total of 131 decisions. He did fail to extend the movement against Communism and crime into his invitation. If he would have done so, he might have had more than 200 joiners. This need not be a slow way of saving the free world, because a few hundred preachers who would talk for freedom would build up their attendance and their congregations and force the other members of the clergy to move. The church is so highly organized I think that if it would move it could save the free world in 6 months' time.

These pieces will be effective only with the right-wing clergy and if you can work out a mailing list and do not wish to send it to me, perhaps you can see that [redacted] gets it.

With best wishes...

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

Enclosures

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC-38

62-108867-1
22 JUL 29 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

Soviet Intensifies Fight on Church

Note:
One of the duties
assigned Labor
in a Worker's
Paradise under
Dictatorship.

MOSCOW (AP)—An intensified drive against religion has been launched in the Soviet Union. One paper reported today a collective farm took over an Orthodox convent—nuns, sheep, oxen and wine barrels.

A high point was reached yesterday with the publication of an order by the All Russian Council of Trade Unions demanding that their members organize meetings, television programs and theatrical pieces and, where necessary, go into peoples homes to drive out belief in God.

The Soviet labor unions long have had the major share of the job of fighting belief in God.

From:
FIRST BAPTIST REMINDER

OCTOBER 5, 1962, DALLAS, TEXAS

CHINESE RESUME ATTACK ON BIBLE

Editorial May Indicate Aids
Still Fear Christianity

By ROBERT TRUMBULL

Special to The New York Times
HONG KONG, June 1—Students of Chinese affairs are pondering the implications of a renewed attack by Communist China on Christianity and the Bible.

Such sudden attention to a specific subject, in this case the Christian religion, often indicates that the matter is causing concern to the Peking regime.

After a long silence on the subject of religion, the chief organ of the Chinese Communist Party, Jenmin Jih Pao of Peking appeared with a long editorial May 9 condemning the Bible and Christianity as tools used by the "exploiting class" to undermine Marxism. The article has just been received and translated in Hong Kong.

The editorial recommends that its readers study a Communist treatise on religion published in the Soviet Union 40 years ago and just issued in Chinese under the title, "What Kind of a Book the Bible Is." The paper comments that the author "follows Lenin's directive 'to call on the most backward masses to treat the question of religion consciously and to criticize religion consciously.'"

New York Times
June 1, 1963

An Apparent Analogy

The editorial seems to form an analogy between the situation in the Soviet Union in 1921 and happenings in Communist China today. If this inference is correct, it would mean that Peking regards the continuing survival of Christianity in China as a danger to the regime. "Even after the social system has changed and the labor people have become masters of their own households, the conduct of atheist propaganda; education must continue on a long-term basis and with increasing thoroughness; care," the editorial says.

"Since the laboring masses in Russia had long been deeply influenced by religion, the emergence of socialism naturally would miss the opportunity of making use of religious superstition as a weapon of attack against the Soviet regime," the Peking paper declares.

To close observers of Chinese affairs, this passage suggests that Christianity must still be considered an influence of some importance in Communist China, for otherwise the reference would be unnecessary.

Missionary Released

The attack on the Bible appeared a few days before Peking authorities released a British missionary, Harold George King, five months before completion of his five-year sentence on charges of espionage and "counter-revolutionary activity." Mr. King, a member of the Watch Tower and Bible Tract Society (also called Jehovah's Witnesses), arrived in Hong Kong this week.

No. 40

Pastor's Pen

Dr. W. A. Criswell, Pastor

Here is an editorial comment that is so very true and so tragically pertinent:

"Late news from Moscow describes an intensified campaign to destroy faith in God. Communists are directed to press their persecution of religion in Russia and in this anti-God campaign to 'go into the people's homes to drive out belief in God.'"

"This is an effort to destroy the church, the clergy and members of the congregation who remain faithful. An anti-God campaign has long been underway in Russia and with it intensified there, it remains to be seen how soon the enemies of freedom will dare to accelerate their attack in the United States.

"We speak of agnostics, atheists, infidels, etc., without precise knowledge

of the meaning of each term, as they have at times been changed; but there is nothing indefinite about the anti-God Communist dedication to subdue or destroy all who believe in God. Religion and our hope of eternal salvation is a bulwark confronting the Communist's evil design. They call it the opiate of the people and demand its annihilation.

"Our defense does not require politics nor even patriotism, but only the continuation of our right to believe in God, worship, read and own our Bible and attend Church."

The U. S. Supreme Court

June 25, 1962, "outlawed"

prayer in public schools.

The U. S. Supreme Court

June 17, 1963, ruled

against Bible reading in

public schools.

Christianity vs. Communism and trying to save the Church need not be controversial. Only atheists and the enemy will object. Preachers sometimes say a few words or make many declarations against Communism which serves the fine purpose of arousing the interest of their listeners and results in closer attention to what they will subsequently say.

They may later do a great disservice to the cause of Freedom by expressing in different ways the thought that constructive action may not be necessary in combatting the Communist conspiracy. A high degree of action, and it can be solemn or joyous action, may be justified in defeating the statism conspiracy for a dictator who seeks to replace God and take over all free institutions, including the churches, clergy and congregations.

The clergyman's word is often more than the law to his listeners, and he should be very careful in saying that "prayer is the only answer," overlooking James 2:17, "Faith without works is dead," and similar references, unless he is positively convinced that it is "the only answer." The preacher should take care to be as truthful about this vital matter as he is about everything else he says. Following his Freedom message, his sermon may be directed in any course he chooses so long as he is not discrediting statements he has earlier made concerning the Communist menace and crime.

The primary reason for preaching is to save souls. Many preachers are finding if they have included a message against statism and crime in their sermon, when the time to extend the invitation comes, the response is greater. They find many more "decisions" are being made and when word of the glorious harvest of souls saved becomes known, a finer spirit prevails and increased attendance is attracted to their church.

In view of what the preacher has earlier said of the danger of Communism and crime, he could well incorporate the cause of Freedom in his invitation to come forward and join the church. The atheists know what they are doing, and why they are doing it. They have repeatedly said that belief in God, the Bible, Christianity and prayer must be wiped out. A call for dedication against Communism and crime and the repentance of sin go well together. In extending the invitation to his listeners to give their lives to Christ, the preacher could include an appeal to come forward and join together in the great battle we must all win to defeat satanic atheism.

REC-38

MCT-15

62 - 108867

August 1, 1963

Mr. H. L. Hunt
1704 Main Street
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Hunt:

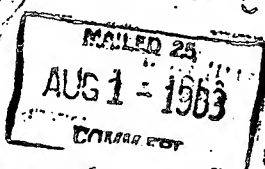
Mr. Hoover received your letter of
July 25th, with enclosures, and asked me to thank
you for bringing this data to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memorandum dated 7-31-63 NR
entitled "Mr. H. L. Hunt, 1704 Main Street, Dallas 1, Texas"; DTP:mek.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



Delete Copy Sent
7/11/75
Per FOIA Request

1 AUG 13 1963
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

AUG 1 12 09 PM '63
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

PORTRAIT OF H. L. HUNT

What a Man Does

With \$400 Million

By SAUL PETT

Associated Press Staff Writer

DALLAS Tex.—On weekday mornings, he drives himself downtown. He parks his car three blocks from the office to save 50 cents in parking fees.

He carries his lunch from home in a brown paper sack.

He is dressed less impressively than nine out of 10 businessmen you meet, including those on their way to bankruptcy court. His suits usually are store-bought, not custom-tailored. On occasion he wears the wrong suit jacket while the right one is being repaired for battle fatigue.

By the improbable standards usually attributed to his kind in Texas, he lives a life of stringent austerity. He owns no yachts or private planes, has no chauffeur for his four cars, and maintains only two homes—one at a profit. He is something less than an ostentatious tipper.

He has his own comb-trimmer but frequently allows his wispy white hair to grow long at the temples and back of the neck. With his hair long, with those blue-gray eyes and that general look of gentle yearning, he suggests a struggling unknown author, which he is, in a manner of speaking.

When he travels, he flies commercial. Away from home, he often is irritated by food prices. "I feel," he says, "like a sucker paying \$3 for a hotel breakfast." At home at night, he personally goes around the house turning off lights.

Thrift and Wealth

Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, at 71 one of the richest men in the world, is thrifty and admits it. He sees, not a contradiction, but a connection between thrift and great wealth. Estimates of his fortune range from \$500 million to \$2 billion. Estimates of his weekly income range from \$1 million before taxes to \$1 million after taxes.

How much is H. L. Hunt really worth? In financial circles, this question is even bigger than what is Jack Paar really like.

Mr. Hunt, himself, isn't telling. He smiles at estimates, neither confirming nor denying. He does not appear outraged by either the high or low guesses. He implies it's ridiculous to draw up lists of the world's richest men but seems to be aware of the published rankings, including the latest which places him second to J. Paul Getty, another oil baron.

Pinned down, he says he has no way of knowing what others are worth, doesn't really care, and what's more, he says, he has no accurate way of knowing his own worth.

But during a rare series of interviews at Mount Vernon, Mr. Hunt's outsize model of Washington's home, the country's biggest independent oil producer did drop these scattered clues:

"We are proud of our production. During the war, we Hunts produced more oil than Germany produced or had access to, including Romania. . . ."

"Our net profit (shared by Hunt, four sons and two daughters) from oil leases at Cotton Valley, La., has been about 50 million dollars in the last 20 years and it will go on producing another 25 or 30 years. . . ."

"... Our net profit from oil leases at Duck Lake, La., will be around 100 million in the next 20, 25 years, and we've had it about six years. . . ."

"We have at least several other leases of this size. . . ."

"My boys have 11 million acres in Libya and they're beginning to return a fantastic production."

Wide Business Interests

The Hunts have business interests in 15 or 20 States the

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

File 8
2

(b)(6)

MCT pla

REC-78

102-108467-A

NOT RECORDED

199 APR 6 1960

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date _____

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wasn't sure at the moment) as well as in Canada, Africa and the Middle East. They're in oil, cotton, timber-growing, cattle, pecan groves, and real estate, and one son, Lamar, also owns the Dallas franchise of the new pro football league.

Mr. Hunt is a tall, erect man, whose face resembles Herbert Hoover's and whose politics are to the right of the former President. With a reporter, he is polite, friendly, cautious.

The personality that emerges is a bland one, as plain as the clothes he wears, as undefined as his soft, ringless fingers. But behind the blandness, one suspects that H. L. Hunt can be as positive as a pile-driver when he wants to be.

He tolerates—almost seems to enjoy—questions about his wealth up to a point and then, with polite firmness, changes the subject. He clearly gives the impression that making money is far more fun than possessing or spending it.

What is Mr. Hunt's recipe for making money?

"You have to be lucky. . . . you have to be honest and fair or at least have people think you are. You can't do a great volume of business unless your word is accepted.

"... I've never tried to become the biggest oil man or anything else. I simply like to do things—oil, cattle, real estate, timber, whatever—on as big a scale as I can.

"... for all practical purposes, I regard a man with \$200,000 as well off as a man with \$200 million. A millionaire who throws his money around is stupid; he gives our Communist enemies lots of propaganda against the United States.

"... I don't spend much money. There's nothing I want but what I'd buy. But I have no inclination to throw money away."

Book—for Inspection

This attitude is strikingly reflected in the waiting room outside the Hunt Oil Co. offices. The only reading matter I noticed was two copies of a pocket-book titled "Alpaca," written and published by H. L. Hunt.

A band across each book cover said, "For inspection only. Please do not remove." A poster on a table shrilled in large letters, "If

you have an open mind, like romance, love freedom, you'll be fascinated by 'Alpaca.' Copies may be purchased from the receptionist for 50 cents."

Although billed as a novel, "Alpaca" mostly concerns itself with a constitution devised by Hunt for a small mythical country. With picturesque logic, he suggests a graduated system of suffrage whereby men in the highest income brackets get seven votes, not one; two bonus votes go to each citizen who waives old-age benefits or government salary; no literacy or lunacy test is required for any voter; and a citizen can delegate others better informed than he to vote for him.

Mr. Hunt is evangelical about the message and personally seeks to promote the book. He recently made a rare public appearance in a Dallas book store where his two step-daughters sang, "How Much Is That Book in the Window?" He even sent free copies to heads of state in Europe, Africa and the Near East.

Mr. Hunt's home, "Mt. Vernon," stands on 10 lovely acres overlooking a lake—a view which he considers better than George Washington's. While it has only 15 rooms, the house is three or four times larger than the First President's home on the Potomac.

There's a swimming pool off one wing, small by Hollywood standards, and servant's quarters in the rear. The home, which is tastefully furnished in French provincial and early American, is big and comfortable.

But a casual visitor, with fantastic sums of wealth dancing in his middle-class head, somehow expects more. The swimming pool ought to be larger and the house more lavish and, while one hesitates to be catty, one can't help noticing that the house could use paint and the carpeting on the central staircase has worn thin.

His Home Life

Here, Mr. Hunt lives with his second wife, a comely, youthful woman of unflagging Southern courtesy and a sweet smile, and her four smiling children, who call the master of the house "popsy." The two youngest girls sometimes sing grace at dinner and the family enjoys singing folk

songs and hymns together. They not only sang for Mr. Hunt on his 71st birthday but gave him a birthday cake with the jacket design of "Alpaca" reproduced on the icing.

They, of course, eat well but again, not lavishly. Wine is not served with dinner. Mr. Hunt is proud of some of the concoctions developed in his own kitchen, such as prune muffins and carrot cakes.

The first Mrs. Hunt died in 1935. Mr. Hunt's six children from that marriage are now grown and living in their own homes.

I asked Mr. Hunt if "Mount Vernon" were his only home. He said yes, but then had an afterthought, "Oh, there's also the place in Wyoming." The place in Wyoming is a 275,000-acre cattle ranch, where the younger Hunts enjoy fishing and hunting, but the elder has visited only twice. He is not a man with hobbies.

Outside of making money, Mr. Hunt's chief interest is public affairs, and his interest is intense. Several years ago, he spent \$3.5 million promoting "Facts Forum," a series of radio discussion programs which became hotly controversial. Critics said it was ultra-conservative propaganda, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro. Mr. Hunt denied the charges.

Today, Mr. Hunt is passionately devoted to a new radio program called "Lifelines," which his companies sponsor on 50 stations in the Southwest. It is a partly political, partly religious discussion program delivered by a Nashville preacher. Among other things, it insists the Supreme Court has exceeded its jurisdiction, declares liberty fades as government increases, laments Federal spending and Federal taxing and decries the loss of constitutional freedoms, among which it includes a man's right to choose his own neighbors or keep a health inspector out of his house.

Political Contributions

Mr. Hunt says he is not a "heavy" contributor to political campaigns. He did not, he says, support the late Senator Joseph McCarthy financially although he admired much of his work. But if Gen. Douglas MacArthur had

been nominated for president. Mr. Hunt says, "I'd have gone all out for him financially."

He is not optimistic about the state of the world or his country. He thinks the United States faces imminent danger of bankruptcy and "is moving fast toward communism." He thinks the United States should pull out of the United Nations unless it gets a greater voice in that body which, he says, "already is dominated by the Communists."

"... And if we go along as we are, as we get sold on co-existence, we ourselves will become a Communist country. I don't want a war but the tolerance and friendship evidenced by the Khrushchev and Mikoyan visits here are alarming. Such things would not have been tolerated three or four years ago."

Mr. Hunt thinks the times call for a "strong man" in the White House and feels Senator Lyndon Johnson may be the answer. Curiously, Senator Johnson is not among Mr. Hunt's favorite Senators because of his "new deal voting record." He much prefers the work of Senators Eastland, Talmadge, Bridges, Goldwater, Byrd and other conservatives.

Then why does he favor Johnson for the Democratic nomination?

"Because, if we are to be saved from communism, a strong man will have to do it."

How He Made Fortune

Haroldson Lafayette Hunt was born in Vandalia, Ill., the son of a large-scale farmer and grain speculator. His education stopped at the fifth grade and he roamed the Far West as a farm hand, cowboy and lumberjack. In Arkansas, he began to taste real wealth, trading in cotton land, parlaying his speculation into 20,000 acres.

But suddenly, in the panic of 1921, his cotton land became worthless. He had nothing negotiable and, for all practical purposes, was broke. Borrowing \$50 for "walking around" money, he went to El Dorado, Ark., to investigate an oil boom there.

"I began trading in oil land. . . .
res. but how did you do that

without money?"

"Well, when you have no cash, you have to rely on other things. Like conversation. I'd drive out to see a farmer, offer him \$25 an acre for an oil lease, drive back into town and find somebody willing to pay \$35 an acre. . . ."

He got rolling that way and four years later had many wells of his own and sold a half interest in some properties for \$600,000.

In 1930, Hunt went to East Texas, bought 4,000 acres for \$30,000 cash, \$45,000 short-term notes and about \$1.2 million to be paid out of one-fourth of the production, he says. This was to become the greatest oil field discovered in the world up to that time.

"No Stopping Place"

He expanded into other oil fields, other States, finally other countries. Now at 71, with one of the world's biggest fortunes piled up around him, why does he keep going—why not quit?

"There is no stopping place," he says. "I couldn't live in retirement. I don't want to hunt or play golf. I just want to do what I'm doing. I have a good time doing it."

"... There are times when I've wished I'd wake up stone broke. It would be a great adventure—to see how good I was, to see if I could create lots of wealth again."

And as this is read across the land, millions of minds will begin to stir, wheels will turn within wheels, and people without number will start getting ideas for separating Haroldson Lafayette Hunt and his money.



H. L. Hunt at his desk in his Dallas office.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *aw*

DATE: July 30, 1963

FROM : C. A. Evans

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall telephoned last evening. He advised that he had just finished a conference with the Attorney General who wanted to determine [REDACTED]

Marshall said that the Attorney General had asked him to call me to see if we could get the answer to his question. Marshall said he frankly didn't know how the FBI could determine this discreetly and, obviously, open inquiries would be undesirable. He said he so informed the Attorney General and was told by him not to be concerned as the FBI would know how to handle this. Marshall was informed that a check would be made, and we would be in touch with him.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

It would seem unwise to make any open inquiries to try and get the information desired by the Attorney General. If you approve, however, we will check with the field to determine if there is any public source data [REDACTED] and whether they have any established sources who might be contacted in confidence. When this is done, we can refer the matter back to the Attorney General with advice that the only way any additional information can be developed is to make open inquiries.

CAE
(7)

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr

62-108867-
 NOT RECORDED
 35 MAR 17 1964

REC-131

12 AUG 2 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-108867-6431

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-31-63

FROM : D. C. Morrell *DM*SUBJECT: *D*
H. L. HUNT
1704 MAIN STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	<i>[initials]</i>
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

By letter dated 7-25-63 captioned individual enclosed twenty copies of a reprint dealing with Christianity versus communism reflecting upon the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling against prayer and Bible reading in public schools. Hunt's point of contention, after attending a revival meeting wherein nine converts were gained, is that ministers and preachers who would talk for freedom and build up their attendance would save the free world in six months' time. He points out that the enclosures will be effective only with right-wing clergymen and suggested that a mailing list be devised including [REDACTED]

Bufiles reflect that Mr. Hunt is a wealthy oil man who has supported "Facts Forum." Former Special Agent [REDACTED] well known to the Bureau, has been a part of this group. Many references in Bufiles were not checked due to the nature of this incoming communication.

OBSERVATION:

Hunt makes no request of the Director and appears to be furnishing "his literature" in order to help in his way the fight against communism.

RECOMMENDATION:

signature.

That Hunt's letter

Related Copy Sent *Philip J. Hirsch*
Letter *7/11/75*
FOIA Request *mnts*
be acknowledged over Miss Gandy's

Enclosure *sent 8-1-63*
1 - Mr. DeLoach

11 AUG 6 1963

EX-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *Alb*

DATE: 7-31-63

FROM : C. A. Evans *✓*

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

Viper
all

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Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

(b)(6)

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall telephoned on the evening of July 29. He advised that he had just finished a conference with the Attorney General who wanted to determine [REDACTED]

Marshall said that the Attorney General had asked him to call me to see if we could get the answer to his question. Marshall said he frankly didn't know how the FBI could determine this discreetly and, obviously, open inquiries would be undesirable. He said he so informed the Attorney General and was told by him not to be concerned as the FBI would know how to handle this. Marshall was informed that a check would be made.

Enclosures *sent 7-31-63*

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr

CAE: [REDACTED]

REC-131

EX-101

NOT RECORDED
35 MAR 17 1964

32 AUG 2 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-108867-14317

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: [REDACTED]

H. L. Hunt whose full name is Harold Lafayette Hunt is the multimillionaire head of the Hunt Oil Company in Texas. He was reportedly a professional gambler years ago and operated prostitution activities in Arkansas. As of 1953 he was alleged to be the operator of a private horse race and gambling bookie establishment within his office in Dallas. Also, in 1953 it was alleged that Hunt made a settlement of several million dollars with a woman claiming to be his wife, but not the woman he was living with in Dallas at that time. Hunt's fortune was made through "wild catting" in east Texas oil fields in 1930. He has financially supported a number of publications and television shows to "resist totalitarianism by alerting the people to its dangers, to contribute to adult education and to promote discussion of public issues." A more complete summary on H. L. Hunt is attached.

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

ACTION:

There is attached a letter to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall advising him that [REDACTED]

[Handwritten initials: Q, R, V]

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 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
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 Evans _____
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 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

'Cuss Kennedys' Top Election Topic in Mississippi

By James Saggus

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) "Cuss the Kennedy" campaigning is expected to draw a record 450,000 voters to the polls next Tuesday in Mississippi's Democratic primary election for Governor.

All four candidates—three of them veteran politicians—have stamped the state announcing opposition to the National Administration and its policies.

The big issue is which man can save Mississippi from a National Administration usually presented as an ogre gob-

bling up state and individual rights and stirring up racial discord.

Candidates are:

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman, 49, an Ackerman lawyer who headed the state government from 1956-60.

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Jr., 47, a Hattiesburg lawyer and son of a late Governor, now making a fourth effort to follow in his father's footsteps.

Robert Mason, 65, a Magee welder nicknamed "Blowtorch," who polled 2704 votes in his 1959 gubernatorial bid.

And Charles Sullivan, 38, a

Clarksdale lawyer who ran a surprisingly strong third for Governor as an unknown four year ago.

Most political observers predict Coleman will face either Johnson or Sullivan in a runoff three weeks after the first primary.

The "Kennedy issue" has overshadowed such traditional vote-getting planks as old age pension, teacher pay, legalized liquor and the like in this year's campaigning.

Because there is little difference in the basic stand of the four on the "Kennedy

issue," the campaign has seemed largely a matter of each candidate claiming he opposes Washington more strongly or can fight Washington more effectively than his opponents.

The general election comes up Nov. 5. It will pit the Democratic winner against the Republican candidate, Rube Phillips.

For the first time in modern politics, the GOP is being regarded as a political force in the state, largely due to the anti-Kennedy sentiment being stressed by the Democrats.

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date _____

64317

T. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Director, FBI

REC-131

EX-101

August 1, 1963

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans

In accordance with your request, a check has been made of the files of this Bureau and no information was found indicating that the

H. L. Hunt, whose full name is Harold Lafayette Hunt, is the multimillionaire head of the Hunt Oil Company of Dallas, Texas. He has financially supported a number of publications and television shows which had as their stated purpose to "resist totalitarianism by alerting the people to its dangers, to contribute to adult education and to promote discussion of public issues."

It is assumed no open inquiries were desired in connection with this matter and no further action is being taken in the absence of a specific request.

See cover memo Evans 196 Belmont dated 7-31-63, same caption. CAE:

CAE:

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3-3-64

FROM : M. Jones

SUBJECT: FORMER AGENT [REDACTED]
H. L. HUNT
DALLAS, TEXAS
REQUEST TO SEE DIRECTOR

By letter of 2-25-64 former SA [REDACTED] stated he enjoyed the Director's recent article in the February issue of the "Texas Bar Journal." He indicated he had recently been in Washington with his employer, H. L. Hunt, and Mr. Hunt expressed the desire to meet the Director. According to [REDACTED] as they were only in the city a short time he did not attempt to set up a meeting but would like to see Mr. Hoover on the occasion of their next trip to Washington, no date indicated. [REDACTED] then referred to the Life Line program and its policy of having guest commentators. He stated he would like to arrange for the Director to be a guest commentator for a 13 1/2 minute broadcast sometime in the future.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

EX-103

REC-34

62-108867-3

14 MAR 6 1964

In October, 1957, [REDACTED] advised the Director of Life Line's predecessor, Facts Forum, a radio program, and requested suggestions and comments relating to it. [REDACTED] was advised by the Director's letter of 11-5-57 that he could not comment or offer suggestions on the contents of that program. Hunt, subsequently, sent tapes to the Director of comments made on the program which were highly critical of the U. S. Supreme Court and made extreme proposals regarding other controversial subjects such as socialized medicine, strikes, immigration and the civil service system.

H. L. Hunt and his right-wing organizations, Facts Forum and Life Line Foundation are well-known to the FBI. He was reportedly a professional gambler years ago, won an oil lease in a card game, and is also alleged to have operated prostitution activities in Arkansas several years ago. We also received information that as of 1943 he was alleged to be the operator of a private horse race and gambling bookie establishment within his office in Dallas. In 1953 it was also alleged that Hunt made a settlement

Enclosure 3-4-64
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure

1 - [REDACTED] - Enclosure

1 - Tour Room - Enclosure

XEROX
MAR 13 1964

Jones to DeLoach memo
RE: FORMER AGENT [REDACTED]

of several million dollars with a woman claiming to be his wife. He has financially supported a number of publications and television shows to "resist totalitarianism by alerting people to its dangers, to contribute to adult education and to promote discussion of public issues."

Hunt was featured in the 2-24-64 issue of "Nation" magazine and my memorandum to you of 2-26-64 set forth the results of this Section's review of the article. Our purpose in doing so was principally to point out the references to former Agents associated with H. L. Hunt's right-wing groups such as Robert E. Lee, presently a Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, Howard D. Smoot and Milton Eugene Scudder.

In view of the background of Hunt and the highly controversial reputation of his program, we do not want to encourage any further efforts on his part to meet the Director. It is also pointed out that Hunt features himself as a king maker and has supported such individuals as Senator Barry Goldwater, former General Edwin A. Walker, General Douglas MacArthur and the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the Director not see H. L. Hunt or former SA [REDACTED] should they contact the Bureau sometime in the future.

2. That the attached letter to former SA [REDACTED] be approved and sent

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 2-26-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: H. L. HUNT
FEATURE ARTICLE
2-24-64 ISSUE, "NATION" MAGAZINE

BACKGROUND:

Above-captioned issue of "Nation" magazine contains a lengthy article by Robert G. Sherrill captioned "H. L. Hunt--Portrait of a Super-Patriot." The article contains considerable biographical data on Haroldson Lafayette Hunt who reputedly is wealthier than J. Paul Getty. Hunt, who is head of the Hunt Oil Company in Dallas, Texas, was first a cow hand in the Dakotas, a lumberjack in Arizona and an unsuccessful cotton farmer before going into the oil business which is now the primary source of all his wealth. Much of the article is devoted to Hunt's side line of operating a radio program, "Life Line," formerly known as "Facts Forum." Hunt advertises his own production on the program but primarily uses it to espouse his extreme right-wing views. The article also alleges that Hunt considers himself a king maker and has endeavored to support the political aspirations of such individuals as General Douglas MacArthur, the late Senator Joe McCarthy and General Edwin Walker. Considerable space is spent by the author in alleging the tax advantages derived by Hunt in operating "Life Line" and other right-wing ventures. It is alleged that inasmuch as "Life Line" is a tax exempt foundation and because of Hunt's income tax bracket the public is actually underwriting "Life Line."

References to the FBI in the article deal with former FBI Agents employed by Hunt for Facts Forum, Inc., and its successor, the Life Line Foundation. Included in this category are Robert E. Lee, a close personal friend of the late Senator McCarthy; Dan Smoot, author of the Dan Smoot Report, and Gene Scudder, one of "Life Line's" current commentators.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

EX-114

REC 62-108867-4
10-17-1-5

H. L. Hunt and his right-wing organizations, "Facts Forum" and "Life Line Foundation" are well-known to the FBI. He was reportedly a professional gambler years ago (as implied in the "Nation" article) and is also alleged to have operated prostitution activities in Arkansas several years ago. We also received information that as of 1943 he was alleged to be the operator of a private horse race and gambling bookie establishment within his office in Dallas. In 1953 it was also alleged that Hunt

1/ ENCLOSURE
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

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CRIME RESEARCH
CORP

Jones to DeLoach
RE: H. L. HUNT

made a settlement of several million dollars with a woman claiming to be his wife. He has financially supported a number of publications and television shows to "resist totalitarianism by alerting people to its dangers, to contribute to adult education and to promote discussion of public issues."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(6)

LETTERS

Miller's 'Fall'

New York City
Dear Sirs: Your review of *After the Fall* [Gordon Rogoff, Feb. 10 issue] . . . was balm to an audience that wanted to cry "shame" and could only remain silent. . . . Mr. Miller hopes future audiences will understand him (*The New York Times*); his own generation appears to understand him only too well.

A. Collyer

New Canaan, Conn.
Dear Sirs: I've just read the latest issue of *The Nation* [Feb. 10]. It's superb — from the opening editorial to the dramatic criticism at the end. . . . Rogoff is, for me, a discovery. The critic's business is to decide, for busy and impoverished men like us, whether "to see or not to see."

Charles A. Siepmann

New York City
Dear Sirs: In his review of *After the Fall*, Gordon Rogoff writes, "if the leadership [of the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center] showed even one central link with a younger generation, for example, as Tynan serves Olivier with a younger generation. . . ."

Thus far the British National Theatre has produced such younger generation dramatists as Shakespeare, Shaw, Farquhar, together with *Hobson's Choice*, a 1916 farce, and *Andorra* by Max Frisch.

A mature reviewer would not make any predictions about the British National Theatre on the basis of a first season, nor would such a reviewer presume to prognosticate the future of the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center on the basis of the first three plays of its program. To quote Harold Clurman in *The Nation* of Feb. 3, "With the establishment of the new theatres we have our best chance for a transformation. . . . This cannot be done in a hurry. One, two, or even three seasons will not be enough."

Susan Bloch

Fruits of automation

New York City
Dear Sirs: The last issue of *The Nation* [Feb. 10] certainly was magnificent. However, one fact struck me. In one article we are told how much approximately we hand out to Spain . . . it amounts to some billions of dollars, and the same goes for Vietnam. . . . Yet when Mr. Kirstein analyzes the effect of automation and proposes some ways of stimulating employment, he talks about "unbalancing" the budget. How about using the money we hand out to others to employ American unemployed? Nobody seems to

know what we need bases in Spain for, so why spend billions to keep them? Why waste our dollars to keep the so-called Nationalist Chinese in power. . . . ?

It seems to me we just have no excuse for sitting pretty while over four million of our citizens have no employment. It seems to me we . . . definitely encourage communism — is there a "Communist danger" in Denmark or Sweden where there are no unemployed? And we cannot say either that we have no money, when we give it away left and right to regimes that do not deserve it. . . . Will our children really approve of our giving Franco so many billions?

Werner Landshoff

New York City
Dear Sirs: Mr. Kirstein quotes Mr. Theobald's proposal for a new constitutional right of the individual to sustenance income. This is not a new constitutional right at all, but one guaranteed by the founders of this nation. Even in pre-Constitution days, Jefferson declared the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . The way Jefferson sought to guarantee every citizen's freedom and independence as a constitutional right was by landed property.

That was in the eighteenth century, when the age of agriculture was still in full bloom and a vast continent seemed to allow enough land for "a thousand years." In the twentieth century, land can no longer guarantee the citizen's freedom and independence, but a guaranteed share in the production of abundance can. Our inherited constitutional right, interpreted according to the conditions of this century — when the age of agriculture is waning and the age of "cyberculture" beginning — can assure the golden age for our country and for our world. . . .

Alice Mary Hilton

Danger of 'security'

Palmer, Mass.
Dear Sirs: I was amazed to read Chief Justice Earl Warren's statement that there is information concerning President Kennedy's death that may not be released during our lifetime. The reason, it is explained, is that it involves matters of national security. It has been said that many political blunders, crimes and scandals have been hidden under the cloak of "national security," and one wonders whether that might be the case here.

Warren's statement tends to add weight to your recent article, "Oswald and the FBI" [Jan. 27]. If Oswald was in the employ of the FBI is this the

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reason for secrecy? The John Birch Society is making a concerted effort to convince the public that the assassination of Kennedy was carried out upon orders from Moscow. Is there any truth here, and is this the reason for secrecy . . . ?

More harm will be done by withholding truth than by releasing it to a concerned people. . . .

Rev. David Blanchard

Ain't It Awful?

President Johnson is getting a great deal of advice from right-wing commentators these days, especially in the realm of foreign affairs. Of course from their viewpoint the country is also going to the dogs domestically, but it is in the area of the cold war that their lamentations are loudest. And they are sure they know what the President must do if America is to be saved—as Edgar Ansel Mowrer's *World Affairs* headline puts it "LBJ Must Get Tough, Disown 'Peace' Policy."

Getting tough is a policy that always appeals to newsmen hungry for circulation, and to readers hungry for quick and simple solutions to the problems that fever the world, but most American citizens are too level-headed to buy it. They realize that the outcries over Uncle Sam's multiple humiliations come from those who have a vested interest in the cold war and are afraid that they are losing their investment. Hence the urge to blow up a non-Communist take-over in Zanzibar into another triumph for Castro, or the Greek-Turkish conflict in Cyprus into an impending triumph for Khrushchev. War, after all, is America's biggest industry: it defends itself, and finds defenders in the news and opinion media, just as the cigarette industry fights for its life and its profits. None the less, a lot of Americans are very tired of the cold war, and the fact that it is not going well does not upset them. Had it gone well, it might by now have culminated in World War III. As it is we may stop trying to remake the world in our own self-image, which was never very accurate to begin with and has been increasingly distorted since World War II. The fact is that not only the U.S., but all the Great Powers are frustrated today, and this is not necessarily a bad thing. Each of them would like to boss the world, not one is morally fit to do so, and all of them are locked in the vise of the nuclear stalemate.

The place to watch at the moment is South Vietnam, because events there are turning out as badly as possible for our side. The situation in Southeast Asia has been hidden from the American people by a smoke screen of spurious optimism and plain lies, but the truth is beginning to come out. Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press estimates from the scene that the Viet Cong has grown from a few thousand organizers in 1959 to 300,000 active members, and that its "front" supporters may number four to five million. Communists, he says, are the undisputed leaders, but very few of the rank and file are Communists. The organizers preach that the Vietnamese public hates the governing regime and that continuation of the war will only bring more misery. The latter thesis certainly is hard to rebut. If now the North Vietnamese will show some sense, the whole area might be neutralized. Our right-wingers would have even more to wail about, but wouldn't the rest of us be better off?

On Rewarding Friends

COPE, the nonpartisan political arm of AFL-CIO, is dedicated to the task of rewarding the "friends" and discouraging the "enemies" of organized labor—labor's traditional formula for political action. Although it has always had its critics in and out of the labor movement, the formula has served as a fairly reliable guide to political action for a long time; but the 1964 elections may find COPE taking some odd positions. In Ohio, for example, COPE has thus far declined to endorse Senator Stephen M. Young for re-election, despite a voting record that, by labor's standards, is second to none. This record does not seem to count against the argument that Colonel Glenn, as the Democratic nominee, would have a better chance of defeating the Republicans' Robert Taft, Jr., and also of carrying Ohio for President Johnson. This argument, in turn, would seem to derive from Gallup's "identification" poll which shows that Mark Hatfield is recognized by 7 per cent of the voters, Thruston Morton by 13 per cent, George Romney by 33 per cent, Barry Goldwater by 58 per cent, Nelson Rockefeller by 84 per cent, Richard Nixon by 84 per cent, John Glenn by 89 per cent and Elizabeth Taylor by 91 per cent. By this scale, only Miss Taylor would stand much of a chance of topping Colonel Glenn.

In Texas, there are indications that the AFL-CIO will decline to endorse Don Yarborough, a candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, although he has a fine labor record, whereas Governor John Connally has endorsed right-to-work laws and has a miserable record in his first term as Governor. Here a "trade-out" had been rumored: if labor declined to support Don Yarborough against Connally, the Johnson-Connally forces would see to it that Senator Ralph Yarborough had no opposition in the Democratic primary. But opposition has none the less developed in the person of Gordon McClellon, who has let it be known that he is in the Senate race at the insistence of Governor Connally. In this instance, the heads of certain international unions were called to the White House and urged to use their influence to keep the Texas unions from endorsing Don Yarborough. The argument offered was that since Connally will campaign with his arm in a sling—the victim of an assassin's bullet—he is virtually certain of re-election.

In Philadelphia, a special election has been called for April 28, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Rep. William Green, a Democratic stalwart and boss of the Philadelphia wards. Here the contest is between young William Green, still a student in law school, who aspires to fill the term of his father, and Edward H. Rovner, a Republican. Mr. Rovner has been an officer of Local 434 of the hotel and restaurant workers' union for many years; currently he is secretary of the Joint Board of that union in Philadelphia and business manager of Local 434. He has an excel-

lent record as a labor official and as a civic leader; Philadelphia sources in whom *The Nation* has confidence inform us that he has many of the qualities that have made Rep. John V. Lindsay (R., N.Y.) so outstanding in Congress. Yet in this context, which provided labor with a fine opportunity to endorse one of its own and also to prove that it is truly nonpartisan, it has decided to remain neutral. Whatever may be said for labor's position in these elections on the score of expediency and of playing the Administration's game, it is hardly consistent with the traditional policy of "rewarding" friends. COPE seems in this instance to be the captive of those in the Democratic Party who feel that labor has no place else to go—and of the now widespread notion that the main thing is to pick a Winner, old loyalties and preferences and fine voting records notwithstanding.

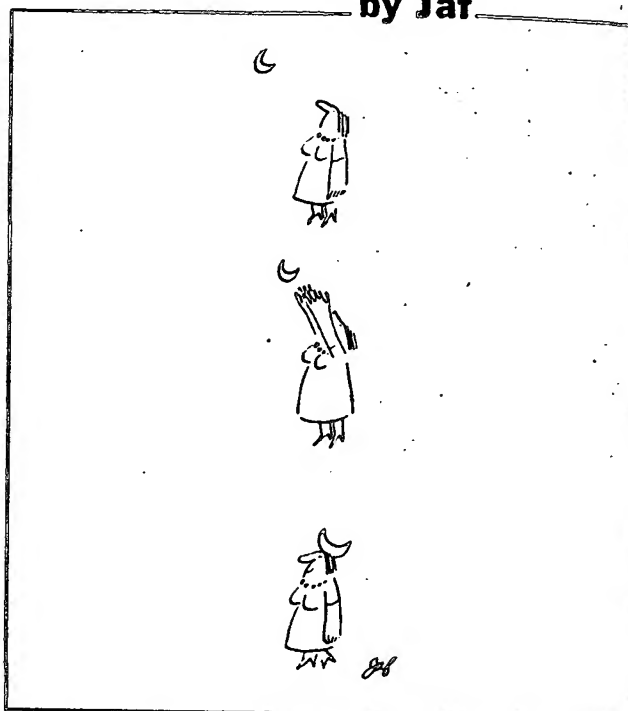
Those 'Confidential' Files

The Bobby Baker, Don Reynolds, Walter Jenkins, Lyndon B. Johnson controversy raises the question: Who is entitled to receive the information contained in an individual's FBI dossier, or other information in government files? According to Drew Pearson, citing FBI findings, while Reynolds was an officer in the Air Force he was guilty of bringing "reckless charges . . . against people who crossed him, accusing them of being Communists and sex deviates." As a consular officer in Germany, he is also alleged to have withheld visas from German girls to induce them to have sexual relations with him. All this may or may not be true, or it may be partly false and partly true; that is not the point. What is crucial is the apparent management of the news by leakage of FBI material to discredit a witness before a Senate investigating committee — a witness who has made serious charges involving White House aides, and even the President himself.

The material might conceivably have been used legitimately by the Senate Rules Committee in its questioning of Reynolds. In executive sessions, the committee might have given the witness the gist of the charges and queried him on them in relation to his general credibility. But, according to Laurence Stern, writing in *The Washington Post*, committee investigators sought but were denied access to the material on the ground that it was classified. L. P. McLendon, the committee's chief counsel, was likewise rebuffed. But not Pearson. After Reynolds had testified, and when it was to the interest of various persons involved in the Baker case to discredit him, someone disclosed to Pearson derogatory information purporting to be FBI findings.

In the heyday of Joseph McCarthy, FBI information was almost routinely used to clobber witnesses who were called up before investigating committees for the specific purpose of being clobbered. FBI information has always been suspect and, whether it was authentic or valid, it has been put to some dirty uses. When McCarthy was terrorizing governmental agencies, nothing else was to be expected, but who

by Jaf



is doing the dirty work now? Pearson denies he got his material from the White House, but *The New York Times* says flatly that "direct approaches were made by persons in the White House to at least two publications in an effort to have them alter or suppress articles based on the Reynolds testimony." In another instance someone in the White House warned the publisher of a national news magazine against using what Reynolds had said, and read over the telephone excerpts from what was identified as an FBI file on Reynolds.

The White House seems to have some more explaining to do.

The Turtle Gap

Great advances in technology are often the result of the union of hitherto unconnected ideas. An opportunity of this sort appears to present itself in a recent proposal by Stanley W. Burriss of Lockheed, who has been general manager of the Polaris missile program since its beginnings in 1957. At a meeting of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Burriss suggested that we should not be satisfied with pointing megaton explosives at the Russians from nuclear-powered submarines. Burriss wants to go all the way down to the ocean floor, where he envisions a crawling submarine—he likens it to a turtle—which will be better protected against nuclear depth charges. With a few hundred such devices patrolling the ocean bottom, the free world will be secure—at least until the Russians come crawling alongside.

But the Russians will almost certainly close the turtle gap, and for that reason, the bottom crawler must be regarded as no more than a makeshift. We must prepare for combat, not merely in Gray's dark un-

fathomed caves of ocean (which bear the gem of purest ray serene) but in regions far below. Nor is this the visionary scheme which it appears to be at first blush. Actually, the means to burrow beneath the bottom of the sea are practically at hand. Everybody has heard of Project Mohole, the goal of which is to drill from a floating platform into the earth's interior for the purpose, according to the National Science Foundation, of learning more "about the structure and composition of our planet, its age and origin, the origin and evolution of life through studies of the fossils found in the sedimentary layers, and the age and structure of the ocean basins."

Well, now. Put yourself in the place of the typical Congressman, ever watchful that the taxpayer should get his money's worth. Naturally this guardian of the public treasury asks: What's all this about the age and origin of this here planet, which is only partly ours? The Russians, the Cubans, the Chinese—those are the jokers we should be worrying about!

The conclusion is obvious—Mohole must be given a military objective. And since Mr. Burriss is already getting us down to the bottom of the ocean, the rest should be easy. Link up the present silly-science Mohole with the Polaris concept, and you have a real breakthrough. A little imagination and a few billion dollars could produce a completely new realm for warfare. With nuclear weapons in outer and inner space, in the atmosphere, on, in and *beneath* the ocean, we can at last convince those Reds that we really mean business.

Privileged Sanctuary

In the debate on the tax-reduction bill, Senator John J. Williams (R., Del.) said: "I know of no loophole in the tax laws so inequitable as the excessive depletion exemptions now enjoyed by oil and mining interests." Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) pointed out that the average tax payment by all corporations was 49 per cent of net profits, but in 1961, according to *Moody's*, Texaco paid only 13.2 per cent, Sinclair 18.2, Socony-Mobil 31.1, Standard Oil of New Jersey 11.7. About 72 per cent of all depletion allowances went to firms having assets of \$100 million or more. At the other end of the scale, firms having less than

\$1 million in assets got only 2 per cent of all allowances — so much for the argument that it is the impecunious wildcatter who is kept alive by depletion allowances.

After these citations and a mass of supporting data, one might think that the Senate would have slashed the depletion allowances. If so, one just doesn't know the Senate as presently constituted. All Senator Williams proposed was to scale down the depletion allowances from the present 27.5 per cent on oil and gas to 25 per cent in the current year, 22.5 per cent in 1965 and 20 per cent in 1966, for a total revenue gain of \$250 million. His moderation was of no avail. The Senate defeated his amendment 61-33 — about the same ratio as in past years. Senator Douglas tried a different tack: scaling down the allowance in proportion to bigness. Companies earning under \$1 million could continue to claim 27.5 per cent, but in the \$1-5 million range the allowance would be cut to 21 per cent, and so on. The Douglas amendment was defeated 57-35.

The 27.5 per cent depletion allowance has been on the statute books since 1926. All other taxes, especially those of individuals, have gone up mightily since then, but the 27.5 per cent depletion is both sacred and apparently immortal. Senator Proxmire pointed out that other businessmen are allowed to write off their assets only once, but between 1946 and 1949 the oil industry was able to write off its oil wells not once, not twice, not three times, but nineteen times (*Congressional Record*, Feb. 6, p. 2083). That argument did not avail either.

We are told some of the facts about one oil magnate in this issue. What should be particularly noted is that by virtue of the depletion allowance we — the army of anonymous individual taxpayers — are brainwashed to Hunt's satisfaction, at our expense. We are his partners, willy-nilly, in the operation of his right-wing propaganda mill, which in turn is largely devoted to defending his billions. Striking it rich may be in the American tradition, but the oil magnates seem to be rubbing it in. As for the Senate, if it wants to be known as the legislative body of privilege, not of the American people, it is going about its business in the right way.

Justice in Mississippi

Notes on the Beckwith Trial . . . Jeannine Herron

Jackson, Miss. "We are hopelessly deadlocked, Your Honor. There is no chance of reaching a decision." So ended the lengthy trial, and the weary jury retired, discouraged after eleven hours of deliberation on the guilt or innocence of Byron De La Beckwith in the murder of Medgar Evers,

NAACP leader. The statement of impasse reflects the dilemma of the entire state of Mississippi, as white supremacy remains on trial for the slaying of human rights.

Few had expected the trial to be more than a show, their predictions symbolically confirmed in the courtroom by the slightly tipped scales

of justice on the wall above Judge Leon Hendrick's head. After all, this was Mississippi — home of Mack Parker and Emmett Till — where

Jeannine Herron is a free-lance writer in Jackson, Miss., who has been active in civil rights and the peace movement for several years.

Negroes had been shot for attempting to vote, where threats to the lives of integrationists were common, where only a week earlier an almost identical ambush murder took the life of voter-registration worker Lewis Allen in a town called Liberty.

But the development of the trial was surprising. Prosecuting attorney William Waller and his assistant John Fox presented a well-documented case. The jury, artfully selected, evidently took their oaths seriously. If the trial represents Mississippi's Great Trial, the personalities of Beckwith and Waller suggest the two prevailing forces in white Mississippi — the unstable, vituperative, fearful segregationists, and the reasonable, law-abiding, intelligent, honest segregationists.

During the first few days of the jury selection, Waller's behavior made it seem that the trial would progress no more justly than anyone expected. Although dynamic and attractive, Waller was insulting. He referred to Medgar Evers as "an offensive person." His use of the word "nigger" or "nigra" angered the predominantly Negro audience. Of the defendant he said, "I like Mr. Beckwith. He has a pleasant way." But his probing challenges on the race question revealed and eliminated many a prospect whose opinions would have "placed an undue burden on the state."

His questions assumed that every white Mississippian was a segregationist:

Do you have any scruples that would keep you from convicting a white man for killing a nigra? Did you contribute to the Beckwith defense fund? The deceased worked in a way obnoxious and emotionally repulsive to you as a businessman and me as a lawyer—can you put that out of your mind and judge this case like any other case? It is not necessary that you equivocate over your principles, nor that I do so either. It is our duty to keep the law. Taking into account what I said about the deceased, can you be impartial? In the sense of being killed, he was a human being.

Would rendering an unpopular verdict affect your relationship with your customers? You may have heard that to convict Mr. Beckwith would aid the cause of integration and federal legislation—can you forget about that and consider only the law and the evidence? I'm a little upset right now myself with

all these nigras in the courtroom—does that bother you? You might feel identification and sympathy for Mr. Beckwith—he's a Mason, you're a Mason; he's a veteran, you're a veteran; you're a father, he's a father; you believe, he believes—can you put those things aside?

Waller's skill and purpose were not immediately apparent, clouded as they were by his comments; but while his questions roused momentary ire in the spectators, they succeeded in establishing an understanding of the situation necessary to procure a sober and — by oath — impartial jury. The thirteen men (one alternate was selected) were white, Protestant and Southern-born. They were in no way unusual, in no way immune from the prejudices of their community or the retaliation of their neighbors: salesmen, employees of public utilities, a public relations man, a city bus driver — a cross section of Mississippi, with a quite astonishing incidence of moral courage.

Of ninety-five men questioned, seven were Negroes. Of the seven, three were quickly eliminated by Waller and the remaining four were last on the list. Having a Negro on the jury would have been, to say the least, awkward. The men were locked up together for ten days, slept together and ate together at public restaurants.

As the trial itself opened, it gradually became clear that the district attorney intended without reservation to prove Beckwith guilty in "ten ways." He courteously refused Beckwith's offers of cigars and seemed not to notice when the defendant patted him on the back as he left the courtroom. His prosecution was thorough, precise and unwavering. Judge Leon Hendrick, a dignified, admirable old barrister, showed himself absolutely fair in evaluating objections to the testimony. Waller produced fifty-six witnesses and some sixty pieces of evidence. The defense's one newspaper clipping introduced as evidence seemed lame by comparison.

Byron De La Beckwith first appeared with the ceremony and air of a monarch approaching his own coronation. He was accompanied by an entourage of officers of the court who acted for all the world like his personal armed bodyguards. A uniformed honor guard

was stationed at the door, and the nobles of Beckwith's kingdom (former Governor Ross Barnett, ex-Major General Edwin Walker) came to pay him homage. His supreme confidence was not born of innocence, but of his complete belief that the system, being on his side, would acquit him.

His self-assurance was, however, sustained by his sense of heroic martyrdom, and hungry for confirmation. He compulsively sought a nod from every person in the press box, and his eyes would return again and again for recognition.

His creed, as brought out by the prosecution to establish the motive, was set forth in many letters he wrote. In this county courthouse, under a towering statue of Moses, Byron Beckwith laid down his Law:

I believe in segregation like I believe in God. I shall oppose any person, place or thing that opposes segregation. I shall combat the evils of integration and shall bend every effort to rid the U.S. of the integrationists, whoever and wherever they may be . . . without mental reservation or equivocation.

In a letter to the National Rifle Association he wrote: "For the next fifteen years we in Mississippi will have to do a lot of shooting to protect our wives and children from bad niggers and sorry white folk." After he was taken into custody, he submitted an article to *Outdoor Life* on the subject, "Shooting at night in summertime for varmints."

Three major defense witnesses, who had not testified at any of the preliminary hearings, appeared at the last moment to declare that on the night of the murder they had seen Beckwith at 11:45 P.M. and 1:05 A.M. at two gas stations in Greenwood — thus establishing that he could not have been in Jackson (fifty miles away) at 12:45 A.M., the time of the murder. No one tried to explain why Beckwith stopped at two gas stations in so short a span of time, nor why he was out so late when ordinarily he rose for work at 5 A.M.

There has been much speculation as to why the defense put Beckwith on the stand. He is rather unstable and his behavior was therefore unpredictable, but there was no other way to establish the "disappearance" of the murder weapon, the 30.06 Enfield rifle with the 60-power

Golden Hawk scope, from his possession on the day before the murder.

And so, in a surprised and electric atmosphere, Byron Beckwith took the stand in his own defense. He answered questions with a loud "Yes, Suh!," turning frequently to the jury in an overpolished performance of an overwritten script. He was ready, like a Charming Chatty doll when you pull the string, with glibly recorded replies, but the courtroom was held in fascination by the risk that at any moment he might jump to the wrong groove.

"I couldn't say this was my gun, No, Suh [referring to exhibit 21]. I had a gun just about like that, but I never make any record of serial numbers." What happened to his 30.06 rifle? "It left my possession. I discovered that Monday night [the night before the murder] when I came home from Greenville. I looked around the car for it. I wasn't certain whether I left it in the house or car. My car could not be locked."

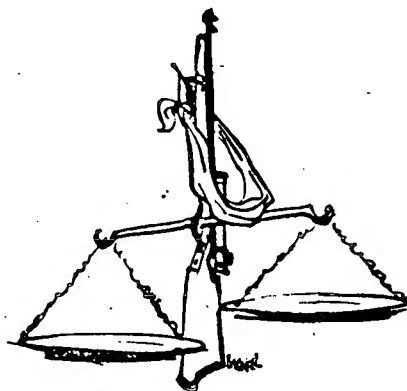
Did he leave the house locked? "The house is in a fearful state of repairs." He turned conversationally to the jury. "Have you seen any pictures of my house?" Judge Hendrick: "Mr. Beckwith, you're not supposed to ask questions, just answer them."

"Well, the house was built in 1900. A skeleton key would open it. The kind you can buy at any dime store. We never locked the house unless we were going to be out of town. I sure don't know what happened to that rifle."

It was hard to assess the jury's reaction to Beckwith's testimony, but in the press section smiles were exchanged. Beckwith couldn't sell his innocence, but one could see why he was so successful at selling fertilizer.

There was no doubt about Waller's sincerity as he wound up the case for the prosecution. The motive was obvious: Beckwith wanted to kill the movement and he went after the number one man. He schemed to get the cause, not the man. The gun was his, and in spite of being an "avid gun trader, with as many as thirty or forty guns sometimes," Beckwith kept the Enfield three years. He obtained the telescopic sight, and it bore his fresh fingerprint when the weapon was found carefully hidden near the

scene of the crime. He had been seen with an open wound over his eye during the week of the murder. He claimed it was caused by the recoil of the scope when he was "target shooting" two days before the murder. His car, a white Valiant with a long radio aerial on the back, had been noticed near the scene in the days preceding the crime, and had been identified by two witnesses as being there on the night of the murder. He refused to



answer FBI men when they questioned him in Greenwood and failed to produce any alibi witness until the eleventh hour of the trial, although three preliminary hearings had been held during the preceding eight months.

The prosecution continued: "I feel sincerely that Mr. Beckwith is guilty. It is the worst crime, the most cold-blooded killing, I've ever seen. It is not a crime of passion or revenge. It is one man's short-lived hold on destiny in which he can become a big, big martyr. Did he come in humbly and say, 'I'm innocent'? He sat upon that throne of glory and reveled in it. His attitude was almost beyond comprehension. He had the capacity, capability and the inclination, and he did execute Medgar Evers."

There is still the possibility, the defense claimed, that Byron Beckwith didn't actually shoot the gun. It couldn't be proved absolutely that the death bullet came from his gun, although it compared in make and caliber to the bullets left in the gun. There is no way you can prove a fingerprint is fresh. And there were those three witnesses who saw Beckwith in Greenwood. The defense concluded: "We believe that this jury is not going to render

a verdict to satisfy the Attorney General of the United States."

Most observers predict that the "arch-conservative" will eventually be acquitted and disappear into the vast spaces of New Mexico, where he will undoubtedly finish his book, *My Ass, Your Goat, and the Republic*, and write letters about sending the Indians back where they came from.

None the less, the trial is a positive entry in Mississippi's otherwise black record, though it cannot be viewed out of context. While justice was receiving unexpected honor in the Hinds County Courthouse, Jackson police, anticipating Negro unrest because of the trial, fired into a crowd of chanting college students. The demonstration, started because a student had been struck by a car earlier in the evening, might have remained a peaceful protest, but the keyed-up police moved in with cars and rifles. The students responded with jeers and bottles, and then became infuriated by the appearance of the city's new (and heretofore untried) powder-blue riot tank. When tear gas failed to break up the crowd, the police opened fire and wounded five students.

Tension pervaded the courthouse itself. Negroes attending the trial were thoroughly searched. A police dog was kept in the courthouse, "in case of trouble." A prominent civil rights leader (a minister) in Jackson was turned out of the courthouse one day and arrested on a traffic charge the next. And in Liberty, Miss., another victim of white supremacy lost his life as he returned to his home and family late one night.

The prosecution and the defense will now regather their forces.

It has been said that the real issue on trial was whether or not it is a crime to kill a Negro in Mississippi. There was a deeper issue as well. Mr. Waller made the statement, "In the sense of being killed, Medgar Evers was a human being." He later confirmed Evers' humanity when he said "murder is murder whether it is a short man, rich man, big man or child."

If Negroes are really human beings under the law in Mississippi, and if murder is murder, doesn't it follow that a vote is a vote?

H. L. Hunt

Portrait of a Super-Patriot Robert G. Sherrill

It has become something of a game with newspapers and magazines to guess whether Haroldson Lafayette Hunt or his oil peer J. Paul Getty is America's richest citizen. Six years ago *The New York Times Magazine* rated Hunt number one. Then *Fortune* and *Life* promoted Getty. That rating lasted until three years ago when *True* jumped Hunt to the top again, quoting Getty with the modest disclaimer: "The corporations in which I own shares are rich enterprises, but I am not wealthy. They hold the property. They control me. In terms of extraordinary, independent wealth, there is only one man. H. L. Hunt."

Hunt and his sons rule their oil empire as individual men, not even as a family, and most certainly without a board of directors.

People like to talk about the wealth of Hunt. It satisfies whatever need it is that "the mostest" stories satisfy — the impulse that creates folk heroes out of the biggest sinners. A current joke going around in Texas is this: Reporter: "Mr. Hunt, your son Lamar has lost \$1 million a year supporting his professional football team. Doesn't this worry you?" Mr. Hunt: "Certainly it worries me. At that rate Lamar will be broke in 250 years." Hunt encourages this kind of humor, for reasons all too pathetically apparent. If there is anything Hunt is short of and which his money can't buy, it is good public relations.

Soon after *Fortune* and *Life* had demoted Hunt to number two Croesus, a Nebraska garage owner by the same name wrote playfully to the billionaire: "What the hell is the matter? Are you slipping? I see you rated today in the second-string list. Now get on the ball and get back in the top bracket where you belong, us Hunts don't recognize any second raters."

Letters like that rarely come to H. L. Hunt's office. Somebody out there thought of him as a human

being. Hunt reproduced literally hundreds of thousands of copies of that letter, mailing them all over the world. When he went into the Middle East to dicker with the sheiks, he took the letter along to show his humanity and even credited it with winning some of the oil concessions.

Saul Pett, one of the first newsmen to sit down and really talk with Hunt, noticed that "he tolerates — almost seems to enjoy — questions about his wealth. . . ." Recently, during the New York news conference at which Hunt had tried to explain why he and his patriotic exhibit had been evicted from the proposed World's Fair, he tired of answering questions on that topic and remarked drily, "Let's talk about how rich I am, or something."

The "or something" of how Hunt became rich is not a dull subject. He was born in Vandalia, Ill., seventy-four years ago. He could read by the time he was three and could memorize a prose page in two readings by the time he graduated from the fifth grade. That was the end of his schooling. Hunt, thirteen years old, nearly man-size, began to drift. For a few years he was a cowhand in the Dakotas and in Canada, and a lumberjack in Arizona. But he had always wanted a farm of his own and he had heard his father speak of how rich the soil was around Lake Village, Ark. So young Hunt went there, started growing cotton, and became a very wealthy farmer. Then in 1921, cotton prices dropped to almost nothing, and Hunt was wiped out.

It was a fortunate disaster. It drove him into oil. But how did a broke man get his first lease? For many years the story has been that Hunt, an extremely able man at cards, won his first lease at the gaming table. That explanation got into print for the first time in 1950, in a British newspaper, but it has been repeated many times since. Hunt denies it all.

In any case, Hunt took a fortune from the Arkansas fields, and moved into East Texas in 1930. He was there when C. M. (Dad) Joiner brought in what was to become the world's largest producing field. Hunt

bought Joiner's discovery well—No. 1 Daisy Bradford — and obtained 4,000 acres on lease in the vicinity. As a matter of mysterious fact, he wound up with most of the land Joiner started with; nobody has ever figured out how he did it. Hunt says it was simple: he paid \$1 million. But Joiner died with little money, and the almost uncountable riches Hunt has taken from Joiner's old land has turned some Texas oil men sour on him; to them it is a matter of historical desert vs. commercial luck.

A Case of Texas Luck

But in oil, where so much depends ultimately on luck, too much is often explained by it. Hunt had more than luck. Around Tyler, Hunt's home town in this period, he was known as a "loner." Unlike most of the pioneer oil men who enjoyed going into the field with their roughnecks, Hunt preferred the office. His genius was inside, making deals. Frank Lake, a Texas insurance commissioner whose father was for a time partner with Hunt, recalls: "Mr. Hunt never forgot anything. Maps, statistics, lease data—he never forgot." And he had a gambler's consummate faith in the law of averages. Hunt once said: —

An element of luck is important —when you first get started in the business. If you don't get a well fast, you can't accumulate the capital to start operating on a large enough scale. But after you start rolling, what you mainly need is a thorough knowledge of the laws of chance. A wildcatter can expect to bring in one well for every thirty tries, and only one man in thirty will do that. If you don't have faith in the law of averages, you'll probably get discouraged and quit. In my wildcatter days, I've drilled a hundred dry wells one after the other. Then when prospects looked most pessimistic, the law of averages would go to work for me, just as I figured it would.

The boldness of that statement can be understood only when one realizes that a quarter of a million dollars is not an unusual cost for wildcatter a single well.

By the time Hunt left Tyler for Dallas in 1938, the Hunt Oil Co.

Robert G. Sherrill, a former Texas newspaper man, is Tallahassee bureau chief of the Miami Herald. The research for his article on H. L. Hunt was made possible by a grant from the Philip M. Stern Family Fund.

was what it would remain, the largest independent petroleum producer in the world. During World War II, Hunt held more oil reserves than all the Axis nations put together. Right after the war, when a strike closed the Eastern coal mines during the winter of '46, Hunt supplied 85 per cent of the natural gas put through to the area from the Southwest to relieve the fuel shortage.

He has become the world's most expansive wildcat explorer. "It's my policy," he says, "to take options everywhere."

In recent years he has done exactly that: leases in the Middle East—which even Hunt describes as "fantastic," including generous concessions in Kuwait, that wildcat-ers' paradise where a dry hole has never been drilled; leases on 11 million acres in Libya, which oil men expect to become just as productive as the Middle East; and widespread developments in this country, including oil reserves of an estimated billion barrels under Montana. Branching into other industries, Hunt owns ranch land worth \$200 million, with 9,000 head of cattle and 12,000 sheep on one ranch alone near Cody, Wyo.; timberland, canning factories, citrus groves, some of the largest pecan farms in America, food-processing plants (turning out HLH Hallmark, HLH Alma, HLH Saxet, HLH Butterfield and HLH RingO) and drug-manufacturing laboratories (HLH Mercurochrome, HLH buffered aspirin, HLH glycerine suppositories, HLH multiple vitamins, HLH "Gastro-Majic"). Hunt is an alchemist under whose hand everything turns either to gold or to controversy.

The controversy stems from the fact that H. L. Hunt, in addition to being very probably the richest man in America, is very probably the country's most powerful propagandist for the extreme Right. The main vehicle for his brand of conservatism today is Life Line, a radio program originating in Washington, D.C., and daily reaching an estimated audience of 5 million persons in forty-five states. It is heard over 331 stations, among which are 25 per cent of the nation's clear channel outlets.

In the weeks immediately preceding the assassination of President Kennedy, the commentators of Life



H. L. Hunt

Klela

Line were daily warning their listeners that his tyrannical Administration was by-passing the laws of Congress, following a line ordered by Moscow, suppressing the chief spokesmen for freedom in the land and forcing American taxpayers to subsidize communism around the world. It was a time, Life Line insisted, that cried out for "extreme patriotism," and by a ghoulis coincidence, the program broadcast in the Dallas area on the morning of the assassination prophesied a day when American citizens would no longer be allowed to own firearms with which to gun down their rulers. Under communism, which is seen as imminent in this country: "No firearms are permitted the people, because they would then have the weapons with which to rise up against their oppressors."

There is no evidence that the kill-

er of Mr. Kennedy was incited by Life Line; on the other hand, it is little wonder that some members of the far Right believed that one of their members had done the deed. Life Line commentator James Dobbs, when he heard the news, burst into tears and said he would have nothing to do with murder. In the words of a *New Republic* editorial writer, Life Line broadcasts "the kind of program . . . that the brooding Oswalds of the left or right wing listen to and sometimes act on" — an opinion widely shared by those who credit it with creating an activist atmosphere for evil.

As for who sponsors the program, that is a matter of delicate semantics. On the record, it is sponsored by Life Line Foundation, Inc. But behind Life Line Foundation, Inc., is Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, and behind Hunt is the United States In-

ternal Revenue Service, a silent but very faithful partner.

More than \$4 million has been spent by Hunt in support of Life Line, but inasmuch as the foundation is tax-exempt, this money is deductible from Hunt's income tax. For a man in his tax bracket, this means the program has not cost him anything at all. The public at large, in a manner of speaking, has underwritten Life Line. For ten years the Internal Revenue Service has stood by Hunt, and there is no serious reason to think that it will turn on him now, although a number of Congressmen are attempting to break up the IRS-Hunt alliance.

'Gastro-Majic'

About ten blocks east of the Kennedy assassination site in Dallas are the offices of H. L. Hunt. The entire seventh floor of the Mercantile Bank Building is his, but for personal use he stays close to an unpretentious corner room. The leather in the chairs is badly cracked and discolored. There is only one photograph, of a son, on the dark green walls. There is no executive-suite pushbutton panel here, no gadgets but one: a small powerful radio over which Hunt can pick up Life Line twenty-two times a day by rotating the dial from Nashville to Corpus Christi.

On a table is a display for the digestive tablet, "Gastro-Majic," which for some reason seems to be Hunt's favorite drug creation, along with a photostated letter from a satisfied customer ("I had been troubled with gas which lay like a lump in my stomach for two years . . ."), a wastebasket on which are pasted old and curling labels of "HLH" food products, and a citation from the state of Georgia.

On his desk is one decoration, a dime-store toy flag, the pole about

eight inches high. For the prescribed thirty-day period after Kennedy's death, the minuscule rayon patch hung at half-mast.

Advertising has in the last five years reached fetish proportions in Hunt's life. He constantly talks of patriotic advertising. Pasted face-out on the office windowpanes are small stickers advertising Life Line. One is inclined to ask if they are meant to catch the eye of anyone who happens to be strolling past at the seventh-floor level, but it is difficult to joke about them; they are stuck there with so much sincerity. Hunt plasters his car with Life Line and "Gastro-Majic" stickers, and asks his employees to do the same. Sometimes he circles the block an extra time before parking to let Dallas pedestrians have one more look. He has even gone behind the counter in the drugstore on the street level of his office building to promote and sell "Gastro-Majic." One amazed Dallas attorney recalls the sales pitch as: "Hello, I am H. L. Hunt, the world's richest man and these are 'Gastro-Majic' which I make, so they must be good. Try some." For a while Hunt had a large billboard advertising Life Line and "Gastro-Majic" on the front lawn of his Dallas home, which is a replica of, but reputedly five times larger than, Mount Vernon. The city council made him take the sign down after neighbors complained, but, undaunted, Hunt put up a smaller one on a vacant lot next door, where it still stands. On his mailbox by the road there is another crude, hand-painted sign: "Life Line, 6:15 P.M.; dial 1080."

(There is a simple reason why the digestive tablet and other drug and food products are advertised equally with the program itself. The HLH products are the chief sponsors of Life Line; if you listen to Life Line,

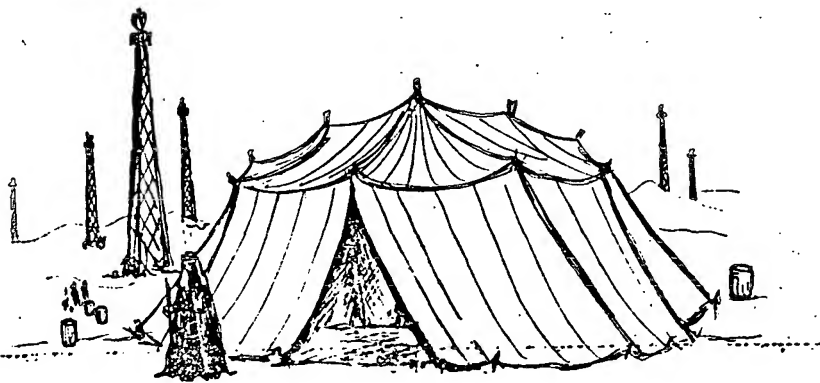
you hear HLH advertising; if you buy HLH products, you help support Life Line. The distinction between patriotism and profit does not exist for Hunt. "Everything I do," he says, "I do for profit.")

If Hunt participates in this exhibitionism awkwardly, it may be because he has had to force himself into it. He is by nature a recluse, a mystery to the public, hardly known even to other oil men of Texas. Hugh Roy Cullen, Houston multimillionaire and philanthropist, lived an active life in Texas petroleum and died at an advanced age without ever laying eyes on Hunt. Until 1945, Hunt had never permitted himself to be interviewed. Since then, he has been interviewed privately not over half a dozen times.

Only a fanatical patriotism — which he gladly equates with love of private enterprise — forced him at last into the open. He has even, on rare occasions since World War II, addressed civic clubs. Reminiscent of Coolidge wearing the Indian war bonnet, Hunt once told a patriotic joke to a Dallas Optimist Club. These are acts of desperation. He was reluctant to speak publicly, he says, "because I did not know how and I was afraid to try to speak. But I think we're so far gone that everyone is going to have to do everything he can to dispel the people's apathy. I think we are being taken over by the Communists."

Unless the exigencies of his country demand it, however, he seldom ventures farther than his corner green room. In adjoining offices there is great activity: secretaries mimeograph and mail hundreds of thousands of Hunt letters-to-the-editor or make Xerox copies of political clippings for filing; farther down, the hall, oil attorneys and geologists and petroleum engineers look after the vast and hectic business of the H. L. Hunt Oil Co. But in Hunt's office, the atmosphere is almost benign as the soft-voiced old man, his wispy white hair forming a quasi-nimbus, dreams of saving the freedom of the Western world. "If we are not too far gone, if our freedom can be saved," he says firmly, "Life Line will save it."

As unpretentious as the room is Hunt himself. Visitors who have been asked to stay for lunch, envisioning an elaborate meal, are surprised when Hunt sends out for a



sandwich for them, while for himself he pulls from his drawer his customary sack of dried prunes, a wedge of low-calorie cheese and several slices of bread made from the flour milled daily at "Mount Vernon." Hunt eats only bread baked from wheat grown in Deaf Smith County, in the Texas panhandle.

"I'm a health crank who don't follow my own advice very well," he says. He wants others to benefit from his crankiness, however, and in letters, sometimes jocularly signed H.L.H., M.D., he advises distant friends and employees on such matters as how to install a *bidet* or how to cure a cold with a homespun remedy. Generosity is not habitual with him, but he may, on whim, even send them a home-size flour mill or a vibrator couch. James Dobbs once arrived in Hunt's office with a backache and the old man obligingly got down on the floor to show him a good back exercise.

Hunt does not smoke or drink, although he used to. His one vice, as fundamentalists would call it, is gambling. All his adult life he has been a gambler, and there were periods right after World War I when his skill at cards determined whether or not he ate. Well known to Dallas police of the 1940s was the room on the floor beneath Hunt's office where two employees kept tabs on all major tracks via a straight line to Western Union. They placed bets on every race of consequence, and kept up to date a race horse bloodline library filling several cabinets.

His bets on Southwest Conference football games have been staggering. A friend who is not much poorer than Hunt recalls, with an admiring shake of his head, seeing Hunt bet \$300,000 on one game. More about his interest in collegiate football might be on record if Hunt had not come down with a throat infection—which prevented his traveling—just after the U. S. District Attorney subpoenaed him to tell what he knew about a Terre Haute gambling syndicate that reaped \$3.5 million in ten autumn weeks five years ago by appealing to rich men with its \$1,000 bet minimum. When newsmen heckled him about the timing of his throat ailment, Hunt complained, "If you play a little gin, bridge or bingo, you are about as much a gambler as I am. And when

I do something to turn the tide of world communism, I can't get a word in the papers."

Hunt looks like the kindly judge in an early Shirley Temple movie. He is rarely generous, but frequently thoughtful. And if he is privately quaint, at least he is not the overbearing public "character" so many Texas oil men take pride in being. He drives old cars and he wears old suits and he does not flaunt his riches. Even after he got his second billion, he said in all earnestness that he still felt the highest calling a man could have was to be a farmer. He enjoys children and he loves his country.

Why then has he, possibly more than any Texan at this moment in history, aroused so much bitter editorial animosity? What is there about Hunt which prompts one Dallas editor, who has observed him for years, to say coldly: "If he had more flair and imagination, if he weren't basically such a damned hick, Hunt could be one of the most dangerous men in America."

Hunt Behind the Throne

Since the late 1940s, Hunt has fancied himself in the role of king maker and as a shaper of national policy. He first became really keen on profit-politics when, like other big oil men, he got the scent of the underwater lands. His first choice as the man who could be counted on to see that those lands were placed in the proper hands was General Douglas MacArthur, whom he undertook to put in the White House. By Hunt's account, he personally arranged a meeting of MacArthur, General Lucius Clay, ex-President Herbert Hoover and Dwight Eisenhower in the Waldorf-Astoria before the 1952 Republican convention. The idea was to get Eisenhower to throw his support behind MacArthur. Ike refused.

At the Chicago convention, to which Hunt was a delegate, he continued to press his campaign. Today he claims, with an elaborate explanation of how a number of Taft delegates first promised to switch and then didn't, that he came "within two hours of making MacArthur the nominee." So his first efforts at king making failed, and the results were just as shocking as he had feared. When he bid \$17 an acre on offshore oil tracts that the government was accustomed to leasing

for an average of \$406 an acre, Secretary of the Interior Frederick Seaton turned him down—even though Republican leaders Dirksen and Halleck accompanied Hunt to a protest interview with Seaton.

When the tidelands were transferred to state jurisdiction, Hunt got a more sympathetic hearing. Not only had he been a supporter of Governor Allan Shivers, the bane of all Texas liberals, but Shivers was on the board of advisers of Hunt's first propaganda venture, Facts Forum. So no one was much surprised when Shivers' land commissioner, Bascom Giles, who later went to the penitentiary for cheating the state, approved every one of Hunt's bids for more than 100,000 acres of tidelands oil leases, although Hunt bid an average of \$6 an acre while the overall bid average was \$78.

Hunt's mouth turns down when he thinks back to the Eisenhower administration. His failure to get the oil leases was just one of several "double crosses" he suffered from the Eisenhower team. He finds it hard to believe that he once said (1945) that his order of preference for President was MacArthur, Taft, Warren and Eisenhower. Warren, of course, has become to Hunt an unspeakable traitor. And Eisenhower? Almost as bad. "Except that he got rid of a few perverts in government," Hunt says, "Eisenhower was no good. Eisenhower was the worst President, the most harmful President we have ever had. He was so popular he didn't have to do anything people asked him to do."

That is one reason why Hunt takes pleasure in the airy notion that "I alone and single-handed, by telephone, letter and personal talks," whipped the legislatures of twelve states into ratifying the Twenty-Second Amendment (no third term). "It took me only seven weeks to do it," Hunt says proudly. "I consider it my only public-affairs victory, but it was a good one, because otherwise Eisenhower would still be President." Only Hunt has ever gone on record as crediting Hunt with this "victory," and since Johnson took office even he has not been so eager to claim it. "Johnson," he says, lighting up, "is the kind of President who can lead Congress around by its nose. I wouldn't mind seeing him in there for three terms." The memory of the Eisenhower

period is especially bitter to Hunt because, without at all profiting from the switch, he abandoned MacArthur at the last minute. For a time, MacArthur had no more loyal friend. There are scenes that Hunt can remember with satisfaction. When Dallas newsmen arrived at Joe McCarthy's hotel suite in early April, 1952, they found the Senator, without coat or tie, playing a hot game of gin rummy with Hunt. McCarthy hurriedly dressed and allowed photographers to take a picture of Hunt pinning a MacArthur-for-



President button on him. But by October the Mac-button-pinning was over for Hunt, and although the General's name would be on the Texas ballot as nominee of the Christian Nationalist and Constitutional parties, Hunt announced he would vote for Ike.

In this instance, it was probably the politically wise thing to do; at the same time it points up one of Hunt's ingrained weaknesses as a political amateur: he insists on betting on a sure thing, insists that politics provide him with what the gaming table will not. Hunt concedes, "I never have contributed anything to a candidate unless I thought he had an awfully good chance of winning," and many politicians who thought Hunt was their friend have found out how true this statement really is. When Texas' favorite demagogue, W. Lee (Pass the biscuits, Pappy) O'Daniel, wanted to make a political comeback, Hunt, who had visited in O'Daniel's home many times and entertained O'Daniel in his, sent word that he "wouldn't put money down a dry hole."

If Hunt was disappointed in Eisenhower, the feeling was mutual. At the peak of the first campaign, Eisenhower's political field marshals worked up an hour-long television program which they thought was good enough to make the election a certainty. All they needed was another \$300,000 for nation-wide

channel time. Someone thought of Hunt, who was promptly flown to New York for a sneak preview. Hunt was impressed. "It's great," he said. "It's just what we need to win. I'll back you up to \$5,000."

It was a typical Hunt gesture, but his tight-fisted attitude toward politics is something many politicians refuse to believe. Even the liberal Texas Senator, Ralph Yarborough, who has been bucking big-oil money his whole career, has said: "I've never heard of Hunt giving more than \$250 to \$500 to a particular candidate, but he *must* be spreading it around. He must have a front man he spreads his money through. A man with that kind of bank roll is bound to have."

But he doesn't. Hunt has given as much as \$38,000 to the national Republican Party in a single campaign year (1956), but this is not considered exactly a windfall from a man who earns a reputed \$200,000 a day and can shrug off a \$49,000 fine for running illegal oil. Certainly a party gift of that amount gives an individual candidate no grounds for anticipating a contribution. Only rarely—as in backing Smathers over Pepper, or Goldwater over McFarland in Goldwater's first Senate campaign—has Hunt allowed preference to overcome an innate niggardliness.

Stuart Long, a political writer who has been around Texas so long he can remember the state's last liberal governor, gives the reason: "He's not interested in state politics much. State politics can't help his oil, except rarely. And he won't put much money in national politics to help a candidate head-on. That kind of money he has to pay taxes on. He'd rather spend his political money supporting something like Life Line which he can write off for taxes. . . . That's the way Hunt likes to spend his political money—helping himself while Uncle Sam picks up the check."

The back-room professionals know this and treat Hunt accordingly. At the 1960 Democratic national convention in Los Angeles, a close friend of then Texas Governor Price Daniel who was sharing a suite with the governor, recalls: "I saw old Hunt wandering down the hall, looking like a lost soul. He wandered into Lyndon Johnson's suite, which was right next to ours,

and tried to get somebody to talk to him. There were a lot of people in there but they were all too busy to talk to Hunt, so he wandered on down the hall and talked with me. And I thought, 'Here's this poor ol' boy with two billion bucks in his pocket and he can't get anybody to talk to but me.'"

Hunt remembers his role quite differently: "I personally intervened to get Lyndon to take the Vice Presidency." And did Johnson acknowledge Hunt's influence? Hunt fidgeted with papers on his desk. "I don't know. Lyndon's not the kind to say one way or the other."

Johnson might have preferred Hunt to keep his support, moral or (less likely) financial, far away. As it was, Hunt had—with all good intentions, of course—already done more than any one man to damage Johnson's preliminary campaign for the nomination.

God and Taxes

One of the living monuments of Dallas-style culture is the Reverend Dr. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church. It is the largest Baptist church in the world, having 18,500 members (one of whom is the Rev. Billy Graham), and a \$1.5 million budget. By his own description, Criswell is a "pulpit pounder" of the old school. He is handsome, forceful; a real orator.

Now if there is anything Hunt has a weakness for, it is oratory. He likes Criswell's style. He also likes Criswell's politics. "I am a conservative in theology, a conservative in sociology, a conservative in politics, and you can tell it from my sermons," Criswell says. "If I had a liberal hair in my head, I would pluck it out." (Although Hunt has claimed, "I haven't a conservative hair in my head," he means that all his hairs are "Constructive." The two men's scalps are much alike.)

About seven years ago, Hunt began dropping in on Criswell's Sunday service. Four years ago, Hunt brought his new wife and his second family of four children to Criswell's church, and all six of them were baptized en masse. The two leaders of the Right became confidants. Criswell sometimes mailed out printed copies of Life Line to his parishioners, and Hunt on occasion sent Criswell's sermons to other ministers.

Not long before the 1960 Democratic Presidential convention Criswell mounted his pulpit and sounded an alarm against the threat of Romanism in politics that was heard round the country: "The election of a Catholic as President would mean the end of religious liberty in America." Kennedy had gone on record as favoring a review of the oil industry's tax benefits, including the depletion allowance. A "review" could only mean a lessening of benefits. The Reverend Criswell's message sounded useful indeed to Hunt.

Laymen do not always understand just why oil men feel so passionately about depletion allowances. It is very simple. By choosing the right allowance (there are more than one kind) and by deftly manipulating such things as foreign tax credits, oil companies pay much reduced taxes, and some of them manage to pay no income tax at all.

When Hunt talks of his country's troubles, he does not always sound funereal. But when he discusses the oil-depletion allowance, and possible legislative threats to it, his face takes on the stricken blankness of one who has just heard the last trump. "I am in favor of depletion allowances for all natural resources," he said recently, "but without the depletion allowance for oil we are utterly ruined."

That's why Hunt promptly had 200,000 reprints of Criswell's sermon printed and mailed out, after which he sat back to watch a wave of aroused Protestantism wash Kennedy out of the running. Instead, the wave was one of indignation from editorial writers and the general public at this artificial injection of hysteria into American politics.

The Senate took an even sterner approach. The Criswell flier did not name its source and there is a federal law against distributing this kind of anonymous circular after a campaign is officially under way. In Dallas, the perpetrators panicked. Hunt ducked out entirely and could

not be found. Criswell denied that Hunt had paid for the leaflets, but Ralph B. Raughley, a partner in a Great Neck, L.I., printing firm, told a Senate subcommittee that an employee of Hunt's had paid \$10,008 for the printing and mailing of the sermon to Protestant ministers.

Fortunately for Hunt, Raughley also swore that the order had been placed before the Democratic convention closed in Los Angeles. Thus Hunt was legally, if not morally, in the clear. But newspapers continued to hoot into the darkness of Hunt's retreat. One Texas editorial writer trumpeted, "Come out, Big Daddy, Wherever You Are," and eventually Hunt did just that. He hadn't been hiding, he said; he had been writing a book. Yes, he admitted, he had paid for the leaflet, but he did it only to help Lyndon. Poor Lyndon.

The *New York Times* called the Hunt-Criswell leaflet one of the most widely circulated pieces of campaign literature of 1960, so the damage was irretrievably done. But that was the last heard from Hunt until four days before the election, when he endorsed the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. By this time the very mention of Hunt was considered politically leprous, and Henry Jackson, national Democratic chairman, quickly called a press conference to repudiate Hunt's endorsement and financial support. In fact, Hunt hadn't offered any financial support, but Jackson repudiated it anyway, just to be safe.

Only once more did Hunt the king maker dream dreams. In 1961, he told friends that General Edwin Walker would make the ideal candidate for governor of Texas on the Republican ticket. And having won that office, Walker would be the perfect compromise GOP candidate for President in 1964. It might have been a practical venture, though who can say? Walker ran as a Democrat, and he ran last. Hunt's only comment was that Walker "is being very unresponsive."

Since the Kennedy assassination, Hunt has become increasingly sensitive about the fact that he and General Walker are fellow townsmen. The combination is too tempting for writers who profile Dallas to overlook. Walker, almost tongue-tied as a speaker, gets his messages across with a kind of patriotic semaphore, using United States flags. He has five of them in front of his home. When Dallasites spat on Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, and the city of Dallas officially apologized for the spittal, Walker cried shame for the retreat by flying his flags upside down. Then came the assassination. Sue Reinher, staff writer for the *New York Herald Tribune*, did no more than mention that "Two of the country's leading Right-Wing advocates live in Dallas: former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker and oil millionaire H. L. Hunt." But it was enough to goad Hunt into writing a singularly frank letter to the editor: "I do not feel that you should be attempting to smear General Edwin Walker with me, or me with General Walker." On other occasions Hunt has indicated sadly that he knows his name is sometimes used as "a smear word" in politics. Just before James Dobbs, who temporarily retired from the Life Line staff to run for Congress in Texas, was defeated by a two-to-one vote, Hunt acknowledged that Dobbs might be carrying rather heavy weight in the race because of his Life Line-Hunt relationship. Significantly, Dobbs was within 2,000 votes of leading in the primary, but then came the assassination and he lost the run-off by more than 14,000 votes.

Failing as a campaign pamphleteer, Hunt was meanwhile developing another side of his political writing talents. "Except that I am slow, I am the best writer I know," he says, and he must mean it because he is very free with advice to writers, amateur and professional. William Buckley's philosophy wins Hunt's approval, but as a writer Buckley falls short: "He uses too many big words." Believing that letters to the editor are the most widely read part of the newspaper, Hunt mails out sometimes three and four different letters a day on "public affairs" topics to hundreds of newspapers. Their reception is varied. One Texas editor said, "Hunt earns in



one hour about \$10,000 to \$12,000. That's what I earn in a year. He probably spends an hour dictating each letter that comes in here. I like to cut them in half, because that means I'm putting about \$5,000 of Hunt money in the wastebasket."

While he was hiding from newsmen after the Criswell uproar, Hunt used the time to complete the paperback political novel *Alpaca* (H. L. Hunt Publishing Co., 50c; H. L. Hunt Publ. Co. is a euphemism for a firm that ordinarily prints telephone books). Many Dallas newsmen are convinced that the hero of *Alpaca* is drawn from Hunt's view of himself: "He had burning convictions but there were few in Alpaca, he told himself, who could agree with him." But who was the prototype for the heroine, Mara, an opera singer? Are there clues in Hunt's life? True, he has always been vaguely interested in music. His teen-age daughters often sing the blessing for supper and they also sang a musical advertisement at Hunt's autograph party at the Cokesbury Book Store in Dallas. Unfortunately, few who were there can now remember more than the two opening lines:

How much is that book in the window?

The one that says all the smart things . . .

to the tune of "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window." On at least one other occasion Hunt evidenced his interest in the musical arts, when he underwrote a student production of *The Barber of Seville* at the Music Hall at the Dallas Fair Grounds. Overwhelmed by this rare generosity on Hunt's part, the cast asked him to say a few words at intermission. He used the time to put in a plug for "Gastro-Majik," passing out samples to the audience.

Alpaca is best remembered, not for its love story, however, but for the "model constitution" around which Hunt wrapped the story—a constitution that gives each person a quota of votes based primarily on how much he pays in taxes. There are other ways of getting votes under the Hunt plan: if you are old enough to draw retirement pay but refuse to accept it, you get two extra votes; if you are a government worker and refuse to accept more than 50 per cent of your pay, you get one extra vote. On the other hand, any-

one receiving welfare or sick pay from the government gets no vote at all.

A book reviewer wrote of the *Alpaca* constitutional plan, "It's a kind of a fascist democracy, if you get what I mean." Hunt, on whom subtleties are sometimes lost, later complimented this reviewer: "You are the only one who really understood what I was getting at."

Hunt is deadly serious about the message of *Alpaca*. Every Congressman has received bundles of the book. So have heads of foreign states and many colleges. One small school in Michigan received 100 copies, unsolicited of course. Still in manuscript is a constitutional program even better than the *Alpaca* plan. Hunt, who is just waiting for "two weeks of free time to finish it," isn't giving away the plot, but some idea can be had from the title: *Yourtopia*.

Neither Fact Nor Forum

That's the personality behind Life Line, a bumptious super-patriot. But among those who have followed Hunt's career most closely there is some suspicion that, whether his appearance of awkward naïveté is natural or unnatural, he is clever enough to use it to hide his immense power as a propagandist.

The power is there. Retrograde social and political opinions, either written by Hunt or business associates or first approved by them before airing, consume more than 30,000 hours of the country's radio time each year. Hunt estimates that Life Line is heard by between 5 million and 6 million "very dedicated" listeners daily, and this is probably no exaggeration.

These programs have advocated the passage or rejection of specific legislation, contrary to Life Line's tax-exemption, and have told only one side of controversial issues—without the stations giving time to the other side—in direct violation of Federal Communications Commission rulings for programs that enjoy an "educational" rating.

Yet it is only during the past year that either the FCC or the Treasury has shown even the mildest interest in reviewing the status of Life Line—a status that has allowed Hunt himself, Hunt Oil Co., Hunt subsidiary oil companies, Hunt's grown children, Gulf Oil Corp., Lone Star Steel Co., Sun Oil Co., Acme Steel

Co., the Mercantile National Bank of Dallas, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Standard Oil Co., Standard Oil of Indiana, Triangle Refineries, U. S. Steel Corp., Ohio Oil Co., numerous banks and petroleum drilling companies, as well as individuals such as James Ralph Wood, president of Southwestern Life Insurance Co. of Dallas, and Gen. R. E. Wood, president of Sears, to spend millions of tax-deductible dollars over the past ten years to advocate rank partisanship and pro-business legislation, under the guise of making contributions to a foundation that was originally approved by the Internal Revenue Service as a "nonpartisan, nonprofit organization for adult education."

If the Life Line Foundation is not that, what is it? One thing it is not is charitable. In the twelve years of its existence, Hunt's foundation has spent \$4.5 million. Of this, only \$1,000 was a "charitable contribution," going to the Wadley Blood Center of Dallas in 1957. Hunt does not believe in charities. "What will your charities mean, if freedom is lost?" he asks. Life Line adviser W. R. White, president emeritus of Baylor University in Waco, Tex., once asked Hunt to help his school. Hunt replied, "Life Line needs the money more than Baylor." But White was not displeased with the response. "He didn't turn me down immediately, and that's better than most college presidents do when they go to Mr. Hunt," he said.

So we come back to the question: If Life Line is not nonpartisan, not nonprofit, not educational, and not charitable, what is it? The answer is subtly threaded through the history of the organization, a history that began in 1952 under the name of Facts Forum, Inc.

The most important legal feature of Facts Forum—a feature passed on to its successor, Life Line Foundation, Inc.—was the underlying duplicity of its creation. It was granted a charter by the state of Texas to organize "small discussion groups devoted to the study of the art of living, social advancement, the science of government, and agriculture," and on both the 1951 and 1952 applications to the Internal Revenue Service for tax-exempt status, Facts Forum was presented as being engaged in "discussion groups, lending libraries and polls."

Strangely, no mention was made of Facts Forum's most far-reaching endeavor—radio and TV lectures. Nor was there mention of a newspaper which then circulated 60,000 copies and now circulates 40,000 copies.

In a covering letter, Robert H. Dedman, one of the directors of Facts Forum, did mention incidentally—deep into page two—that Dan Smoot, Facts Forum coordinator, had a fifteen-minute radio program, but this was plainly meant to be taken as an auxiliary activity, something Smoot did more or less on his own, for under Question 10 of Form 1023, the foundation directors were asked to list all activities in which Facts Forum engaged and their response overlooked radio programs.

But the reticence of the Facts Forum founders did not end there. E. I. McLarney, deputy IRS commissioner, demanded that they reveal salaries and names and addresses of all contributors. This information was never given, but Facts Forum won its tax-exemption anyway.

The unwillingness of Life Line's operators to divulge proper information continues today. Although the foundation took in nearly half a million dollars in 1962, the 990-A return it filed with the Internal Revenue Service leaves blank all questions as to salaries paid, gross profit, gain or loss of assets, number of employees or itemized expenditures.

In 1957, when Facts Forum, Inc. became Life Line, Inc.—changing name, locale and staff—the Internal Revenue Service, in its gentlemanly fashion, transferred the tax-exemption to Life Line without prying further into the organization's activities. Since Life Line, contrary to the statement of its charter, holds no discussion groups, has a small and inactive lending library, and conducts no polls, but does sponsor a radio show heard over 331 stations and does mail out 40,000 copies of a companion propaganda sheet titled "Life Lines," there appears to be little similarity between the organization the IRS thought it was validating for exemption purposes and the organization now benefiting by that exemption.

Yet the Internal Revenue Service hardly seems concerned. After twelve years, it is conducting its

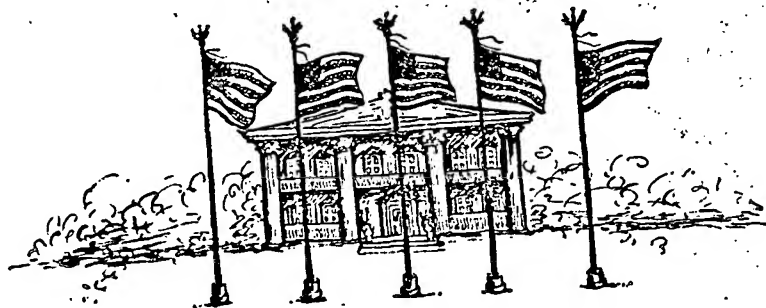
first audit of the foundation's books, although numerous members of both houses of Congress have regularly asked for a tax-status review of Life Line (Facts Forum) since the days when it was the most faithful espouser of pro-McCarthyism on the air waves.

Usually the Internal Revenue Service has not even bothered to acknowledge these requests for review. When response is made, it is given with an air of furtiveness. In 1954, Rep. Wayne Hays was locked in a fierce struggle with Rep. Carroll Reece over the investigation of tax-exempt foundations. Reece was out to get the Rockefeller and Carnegie and Ford Foundations because he had somehow come to believe that "those people" had been responsible for blocking Taft's nomination. And Reece had the collateral idea that if Taft had been elected, he would have been appointed Secretary of State. It was a grudge investigation, and Hays, a minority member of the committee, was fighting to keep Reece at bay.

In this, Facts Forum, Inc., was Hays's best weapon. Every time Reece demanded to see the books of the "liberal" foundations, Hays would demand to see the books of Facts Forum, and thus they stalemated. Hays was under no illusion about his chances to recruit the IRS to his side, for early in the long debate he had petitioned the IRS for a review of the Facts Forum tax status and been told that the Facts Forum records had somehow been misplaced.

Only three days later, however, the counsel for Reece's committee reported that the IRS had made the Facts Forum records available and, sure enough, they showed that the Hunt-sponsored organization truly deserved its tax-exempt benefits.

Hunt took notice of this episode and placed \$5,000 to win on a Hays opponent in a subsequent race, but in vain.



Only a few months after Facts Forum was founded, Senator McCarthy came to Dallas and it was then that he first met Hunt, sealing their friendship over gin rummy. Before the year was out, Miss Jean Kerr, who was then Senator McCarthy's assistant and would eventually marry him, went to work for Hunt. Also joining Hunt's staff at this time was Robert E. Lee, a close personal friend of McCarthy (Mrs. Lee would be matron of honor at McCarthy's marriage to Miss Kerr).

Miss Kerr and Lee had worked together before. Lee, an ex-FBI man, had been an investigator for the House Appropriations Committee which came up with the core list of "Communists" around which McCarthy, with the researching help of Miss Kerr, built his historical list of "205." Lee and Miss Kerr also raised funds to defeat Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, as is recorded in Senate journals.

Now they had come together again, their objective this time being to launch the Facts Forum television shows. Lee moderated the first three of these, and then went on to what was, to Hunt, a much more worthy position. He was appointed, under the sponsorship of McCarthy, to the Federal Communications Commission. The only network experience he had ever had in his life was his brief service on Facts Forum but, as Lee put it to the Senators who were studying his confirmation, "I feel that too much experience can sometimes be a handicap." Apparently the Senators thought so, too, because they ended the hearing without even asking him about his much more extensive experience in compiling lists of subversives.

The committee had raised the question of Lee's possible allegiance to Facts Forum, but Hunt dispelled any such fears by testifying that he did not think Lee was the kind of man who would grant favors and

that he, Hunt, would certainly never consider asking for favors.

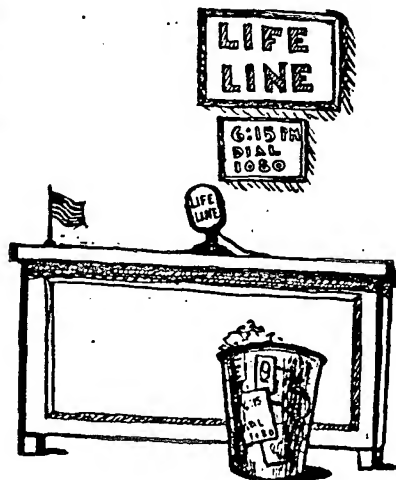
Several months after his confirmation, Lee was back in Dallas, guest in Hunt's home, with Pat Boone being brought in from Hollywood to serenade him. The Hunt girls also serenaded him with the "Alpaca Song." Of Lee, Hunt wrote in an office memo to an employee: "He is a good friend, is a forceful person, so I think this insures that we will not get nipped in the bud by the commission."

In a mood of such confidence, it was a real pleasure for Hunt to gather right thinkers for the task ahead: a board of advisers that included Gen. Robert Wood, chairman of a dinner at which McCarthy tried to link Adlai Stevenson with communism; Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, later a member of the advisory committee of the John Birch Society; Hollywood actor John Wayne, who campaigned for McCarthy; and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, who in 1960 was to warn against a Catholic in the White House.

The front man was commentator Dan Smoot, former FBI agent, whose *Dan Smoot Report* has since been given a five-star rating by Robert Welch as just right for putting in doctors' and dentists' waiting rooms.

These were the carefree days. With McCarthy setting the tone and Lee guarding the door, Hunt through Smoot could bear down on the theme that "modern liberalism, communism and fascism are essentially the same." Smoot was the star of the Facts Forum show for four and a half years but eventually fell out with his employer, partly over pay, partly because Smoot was tired of pretending to give both sides of public issues. On the latter point, Hunt agreed. After spending \$3.4 million on Facts Forum, the admission must stick in his throat, but Hunt today considers it a failure. "I don't believe Facts Forum did much good. It got a bad reputation by trying to present both sides. Its critics didn't want both sides. They didn't want Bricker and Ke-fauver on the same program."

Which critics is Hunt speaking of—friendly or unfriendly? Senator Mike Monroney summed up the effort as "neither fact nor forum." Representative Hays damned the show-as "giving both sides of one



side" and "no more meriting tax-exemption than the A&P."

The broadcast format of Facts Forum was for Smoot to take a subject, speak for two or three minutes on what he called "the liberal-Socialist" side, and then turn around and give equal time to the conservative view. He did this faithfully, but some liberals protested: it wasn't so much that he was cheating on them; it was what he said during the times that made the program appear weighted in favor of conservatism.

How did they get that impression?

Facts Forum Radio Program Number 89 was on the question: Does the Korean armistice represent a victory for the free world?

Smoot opened with the views of those who say yes:

President Eisenhower expressed the feeling of America when, in announcing the signing of the Korean truce, he said, "Tonight we greet, with prayers of thanksgiving, the official news that an armistice was signed in Korea."

His announcement brought hope and happiness to the hundreds of thousands of American homes and families of the men who are stationed in the battle area.

The fighting and bloodshed have been stopped. The incredible carnage has ceased and the negotiations of the conference table are to begin.

Although only the future can determine the success or failure of the Korean conference, we can rejoice in the knowledge that the first test of collective resistance to aggression has proved that the United Nations, as the agency of collective security for world peace, can succeed. . . .

On he went at this pace for another minute or two, calm, bland,

pleasant. Then he turned with a crackle to the position of those who say no:

Government propaganda hand-outs will try to fob the Korean disaster off as a shining victory over aggression. The versatile clique of phrase-makers will feed us with stories about how our determined stand in Korea wore the Reds down and disrupted their plans for conquest. The magic of words will transform our national tragedy into a success.

But the millions of men and women who make up the great proud body of the nation realize, with pain and wonder, that America, whose power overshadows the world, has lost her first war.

And it wasn't a minor war, or a police action, as Harry Truman liked to call it. It was one of our deadliest ordeals. It cost us over 136,000 human casualties. It cost our faithful allies, the South Koreans, over 2 million corpses.

He counted the corpses meticulously, and paused to deplore the "miraculous opportunity to deliver a death blow to communism in Asia," which our leaders threw away, and spoke with quivering anger of "the will-o'-the-wisp of NATO—another quagmire of frustration and indecision," and closed crying shame for "coercing our friends and appeasing our enemies."

Hunt insists today that this kind of program was criticized mostly for being too liberal.

Hunt and his Facts Forum staff kept striving for balance. But it appeared to be an unobtainable aspiration. In one issue of *Facts Forum News* they printed a list of the nation's leading patriots of that time. Well up on the list was Dr. J. B. Mathews, former counsel to the House Un-American Activities Committee, who once charged that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergyman."

In 1955, Hunt looked around for a suitable young man to receive a college scholarship. Liberal or conservative, he didn't care. But the Facts Forum panel of judges could find no liberal worthy of their \$1,200, and wound up giving it to young Paul Crouch, who had written a very revealing piece, "The Untold Oppenheimer Story," for the April issue of their paper.

William Buckley, before he had

his outlet in the *National Review*, wrote an essay for the *Facts Forum News* entitled "The Liberal Mind," which was, he said, the product of "the swollen and irrepressible stream fed for so many years by the waters of rationalism, positivism, Marxism and utopianism."

Hunt also tried to get more participation from the public. He offered prizes for the best letters-to-the-editor, prizes not only of money but of electric blankets, toasters, ties, books and a whole discount house of other items. The *Providence Journal* made a spot study of these awards, however, and found that in December, 1953, *Facts Forum* paid \$360 for eleven letters—\$275 for nine pro-Hunt letters, \$75 for one anti-Hunt letter, and \$10 for one nonpolitical letter.

Pretense of Balance

No matter how hard Hunt tried, *Facts Forum* kept coming up conservative. It became too much of a strain, and Hunt closed the show. At the time, one of his associates was quoted: "He just got tired of useless and lost causes. Maybe later he will turn his energies to something else more in line with what he hoped it would be." The "lost cause" was the pretense of balance.

When *Facts Forum* changed its alliterative skin to reveal Life Line underneath in 1958, however, all pretense was gone. "Life Line," says Hunt today, "is only trying to present one side—the Constructive (conservative) viewpoint. That's in public affairs. It's also a part-time religious program. So it has a double-barreled appeal."

Hunt has consistently felt that the best marksmen with the double-barreled HLH scatter gun are ex-FBI agents and ex-Church of Christ preachers. Smoot, Lee and Gene Scudder, one of Life Line's current commentators, are graduates of the FBI. The most effective moderators, however, have come from the ministry: James Dobbs, an off-and-on commentator for Life Line when he isn't running for Congress and being defeated, and Wayne Poucher, whose only apprenticeship in practical politics was helping Strom Thurmond win a write-in race for the Senate, are both Church of Christ ministers.

One of Hunt's close advisers is Dr. George Benson, president of the

Church of Christ college in Searcy, Ark. Dr. Barrett Batsell Baxter, head of the Bible department at a Church of Christ school in Nashville, was on the Life Line board of directors and advisory board. At one point, Hunt tried desperately to get Pat Boone, who sometimes leads the singing at the Church of Christ he attends, to join Life Line's advisory board. Hunt even threatened to use his friendship with Cecil B. De Mille to force Boone into accepting.

Friends of Hunt, including Baylor's Dr. White, and First Baptist's Dr. Criswell, have wondered aloud about Hunt's predilection for the leaders of this arch-fundamentalist denomination, a modern outgrowth of the fervent religious group once known as "Campbellites." One explanation is that both the Campbellites and Hunt think it very difficult to be saved—the Campbellites limit spiritual salvation to members of the sect, and Hunt estimates political salvation at 2 per cent of the population. But Dobbs offers this reason: "The simplicity, the personal responsibility, the nonemotional quality of the Church of Christ all create an affinity of belief with political conservatism."

Hunt would probably not agree with Dobbs on the "nonemotional" part, for Poucher once led Hunt through an emotional experience directed towards his conversion. On one visit to Washington, Hunt spent a couple of days at Poucher's home. He was taken right into the family circle. Poucher recalls:

The time came for our family Bible reading and prayer, and I asked if he would like to join us. He said he would, but would be a better observer than a participant. So we brought a chair to the children's bedside. It is our custom to kneel around the bed for our prayers, and as we did he slid off his chair and took his place, kneeling at the bedside. . . . As we stood up to say good night to the children, his face was streaming with his tears. . . . I took him to the hotel and for two hours we talked about him and his soul. I finished by telling him that I wanted to take him to the Church building and baptize him. These were his words through his tears: "Wayne, I want to, but I have been an evil person and I don't feel I can ask God to forgive me until I have lived better for a little longer time."

Poucher followed up with a barrage of recorded sermons on Con-

version, Repentance, Obedience, Baptism and Salvation, but Hunt never came into the church. Still, to the very last of his employment under Hunt, Poucher considered the old billionaire his personal project for conversion, asking a friend: "Has God set me to do the work of carrying the Gospel to those who will encounter the greatest difficulty in reaching Heaven?"

Possibly because he was as certain as Hunt of his rightness, Poucher played an important part in Hunt's life and in the shaping of Life Line, always keeping a Calvinistic edge on Hunt's blunt political theories, sometimes even intruding a note of ethics into its overwhelming commercialism. When Hunt insisted that "the battle for Freedom is a battle between Communism and the Profit Motive System," Poucher came back with the harsh reminder that "your life expectancy on this earth is almost used up" so [you] had better believe "the battle for freedom is not a battle between free enterprise, the profit motive system, democracy, or whatever name we might call it—and communism—but it is a battle between good, which is God, and evil, which is Satan, for the hearts and minds of men."

But for every piece of advice Poucher unloaded on Hunt, Hunt unloaded six on Poucher. When Poucher spoke out on Life Line against "hate groups," Hunt counseled him to slow down.

"'Hate' publications and 'hate' groups are difficult to define," said Hunt. "It is completely inadvisable that Life Line string along with a white-supremacy group, but Life Line would not want to declare war on them or espouse the opposition to a white-supremacy group. Life Line is not anti-Semitic, but inasmuch as there will be practically no Jews who fail to fight Life Line, Life Line is not due to carry the torch for them."

Later, trying to educate Poucher to pretense, Hunt suggested he praise a well-known Jew because then "Life Line would be given the credit of extolling and memorializing a Jew." And still later, Hunt sent him an editorial from Gerald L. K. Smith's *Cross and Flag*, with the memo, "Regardless of what one may think of Gerald L. K. Smith, he

may be doing more good than any other person in the present fight against Communism. . . . He has been listing the Kennedy appointees in the most revealing light of all publications."

Sometimes Hunt's suggestions so stunned Poucher that he could think of no reply. Early in their relationship Hunt came up with the idea that they should write a script to show, "delicately," how rich people are turned into Communists through the conspiracy of providing them with Socialist nurses, Socialist playmates, and finally "through conspiracy planned marriages and, for those not available for marriage, lovers." Having found a Communist in, rather than under, the beds of the wealthy, Hunt accounts for the last stage of man by reminding Poucher to put into the script that Socialists also "will not overlook the proper approach to win the senile" rich.

The Memo Barrage

Poucher's basic conflict with Hunt was nowhere more pronounced than in the area of how to raise money for Life Line. Noting that "the Bible is the bestseller, so somebody must be buying Bibles," the nostrum and grocery merchant decided to cut off a corner of still another market by offering a Bible, autographed by Poucher and with a Life Line broadcast schedule printed on the inside of the cover, "which we could sell delivered at twice the amount of the cost and delivery." Poucher put his foot down, protesting that the Hunt Bible wasn't worth more than half the \$10 price tag. Buyers would be tricked, he said, for "the material which comes with the Bible will lead some to believe it is bound in leather. Of course it is not."

Successfully fighting off Hunt's suggestion that he ask for prayer offerings, Poucher warned that "the phrase 'prayer support' has become synonymous with every religious racketeer on the air." But Poucher had no sooner scotched that scheme than Hunt shot back a memo suggesting they manufacture Life Line bumper stickers for 5c each and sell them at two for a quarter.

Looking back to his stay with Hunt, Poucher summarizes it as "a running battle" against heavy odds. What chance, after all, did Poucher

have? Hunt, who ironically insists, "I have a horror of running other people's lives," would sit in his Mercantile Bank citadel behind a solid phalanx of secretaries and fire memos at Poucher — four, five, sometimes six a day — like a skilled medieval Bowman defending his castle from the ramparts.

They came flying in on every subject — how Poucher could improve his diction, how improve the show, how raise money, what to say and about whom:

Sometimes I thought it objectionable when you announced a "prayer to grant wisdom to those who are ruling the world." My reaction was that they were not deserving and also the prayer would be to no avail. . . .

Stop jazzing up the hymns. . . .

Senator Eastland will find prominent local rightsiders and give a luncheon for organizing a Washington committee (for the support of Life Line). . . .

What Goldwater states in his article in the Saturday Evening Post could be used for script, ascribing to him or not. . . .

Mr. Moseley is a very big man in the oil business. He should be courted extensively. . . .

Don't quote [Norman Vincent] Peale by name as he appears to be on the wrong side of the fence about three-fourths of the time. . . .

Suggest disclosing that there is a practically unrecognized pressure group which is the most evil of all — the big, pink money group — Mistaken Wall Street. The lesser evil minority groups such as union labor, negroes and racial groups do not need to be named. . . .

As great a fraud as social security is, and as evil as it is, I suppose 80 per cent of the people are for social security. It would be suicidal for Life Line to attempt to carry out a campaign against it. . . .

I hope that you will start a program directed at the gin rummy players, the chess players, checker players, golf players, tennis players, etc. You simply tell them about a more interesting game, "Matching wits with the Mistaken. . . ."

Five per cent of preachers in the country are dedicated Communists.

I am dubious about your quoting Billy Graham. On the other hand it may be good. I am sure that he will be trying to cut your throat, and if you have made a favorable quote mentioning his name he may

be then branded as an ingrate. . . .

I simply cannot get the saphead purchasers of time to use the commercials, except the Hunt companies and one or two isolated cases. They are afraid of losing their respectability, I guess. If the sponsors will not begin advertising with the program, we are crippled. . . .

You may make a place for yourself in history alongside Washington, Lincoln, Lee and the greatest of all other Americans. . . .

Bruce Alger introduced a Life Line script in the Congressional Record. It would be better to use Senators for this and as liberal as possible. I am sure Ellender would put stuff in the Record and possibly Russell Long would. . . .

Please do not approach political action by talking about anyone voting! Should the listeners of Life Line become educated and aroused in a two-year period, they can be depended on to vote and vote right without hazarding our situation by talking to them about it. . . .

I was struck that you went pretty strong when you urged your listeners to support "their minister, their priest and their rabbi." I think it would fit better should you admonish them to support and cooperate with the "spiritual advisers in their church. . . ."

We must try to get on a station covering every sizable college in the United States. . . .

It is not good to talk about "Dallas" too much.

While Poucher was trying to absorb all this tactical advice, Hunt was sending more strategic advice to Booth Mooney, a former member of Senator Lyndon Johnson's staff who had turned Washington writer for Life Line. Typical was a "schedule" of topics to be discussed and the number of days to elapse between discussions. Most attention was to be given foreign aid, United Nations, taxes, the State Department, the Supreme Court, urban renewal, immigration laws and unions.

Still, Hunt didn't trust his Washington staff to get the job done. He went hunting scripts elsewhere: scripts on the debt limit from Senator Byrd, scripts on saving the oil-depletion allowance from his own lawyers, a specialty script, "Profit Motive in the New Testament," from his right-hand adviser Sidney Latham, scripts in general from Frank Howley, vice president of New York University, scripts on labor racketeering from Senator John L. Mc-

Clellan, scripts on conservatism from Clarence Manion, John Birch Society national council member.

But Hunt's solicitation of Senator Karl Mundt is most revealing in this regard. Officers of the Life Line Foundation have steadfastly insisted that no effort is made on their broadcasts to influence legislation, for they know that one of the basic rules for foundations wishing to preserve their tax-exempt status is that they keep out of the legislative process. Again and again, Hunt counseled Poucher to avoid "recommending legislation," to call instead for "reform." In his "Dear Karl" letter to Mundt, however, he is more brazenly to the point. The legislation Hunt wanted passed (to be introduced by Mundt) would change the structure of the electoral college.

Hunt writes: "It will take you all of ten or twelve minutes to dictate script for a seven-minute commentary. Four and one-third pages typed, double-spaced script fits a seven-minute spot. If you will do this you will indeed throw out the Life Line and Life Line will get the electoral college broadcast under way. They will also need an additional script on the subject about every eight or ten days until it becomes the law. *This is the advantage of Life Line.*" (Emphasis supplied by Hunt.)

Using that statement as touchstone, the fundamental question of whether the Life Line Foundation has been concerned in a substantial way with propaganda or legislation — either of which would be disqualifying for tax-exemption — could be answered with little effort by the Internal Revenue Service.

Hunt Passes the Plate

If the Internal Revenue Service should ever decide to put out that little effort, it will come upon several other interesting questions. For instance, between 1953 and 1956, Placid Oil Co. (a Hunt corporation) of Shreveport, La., spent more than \$23,000 on "subscriptions" to *Facts Forum News*. Did the company have 11,500 names specifically in mind or did it mean for the money to go into a general subscription fund? In either case, if Placid put this down as a tax-deductible "business expense," the IRS might inquire as to how a company uses propaganda leaflets to explore for and sell oil.

Similar questions could be asked of the \$5,000 spent in one year on "subscriptions" by the New Seven Falls Co. of Colorado Springs and the \$33,000 spent that way by the First National Bank of Dallas in two years. (It is known that the First National specified as recipients several hundred Church of Christ and Baptist ministers in the Dallas area. That's "bank business"?) And these are considerably topped by the \$100,000 "subscription" contribution put up by H. L. Hunt himself in one year alone.

Something is fishy. If one ignores subscriptions from individuals, and adds up only the company subscription purchases for 1955, it's enough to sponsor a circulation of 90,000 — which is 50 per cent more than Facts Forum ever claimed to circulate!

As the files of the Internal Revenue Service will reveal, 114 such big-money backers contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars to Life Line and Facts Forum in this way. The IRS has not yet received — and apparently has not yet demanded — a full accounting of how this money was spent.

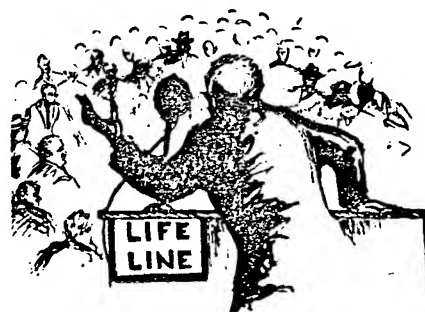
It would not be nice to suggest that Hunt ever obtained tribute money from his suppliers in the oil business. But when one finds in the list of donors of either straight cash or subscription money so many companies that sell oil field equipment, service and piping — Baker Oil and Tool Co., Harry Bass Drilling Co., Blanton Drilling Co., Brinkerhood Drilling Co., Continental Supply Co. (\$35,000), Empire Drilling Co., Hudson Engineering Corp., Mid-Continent Supply Co., National Geophysical Co., United Tool Co., to name but a few — one is forced to conclude at least that Hunt's kind of patriotism makes a special appeal to people associated with the petroleum business.

Representative Wright Patman's 1963 study of tax-exempt foundations notes that one of the preferred methods for confusing the already confused examiners as to the use of funds is for the foundations to give money to one another. Hunt's foundation has also benefited from this kind of interlocking charity.

Bright Star Foundation of Dallas, which won a tax-exempt status only after taking its case to court,

was set up with oil money and chartered to do oil business. It was also chartered as a "charitable and educational" organization. By a rather threadbare coincidence, it has made its most generous grants to date to Life Line Foundation, Inc. The First National Bank of Dallas has lent heavily to Bright Star; the First National Bank of Dallas is a faithful sponsor of Life Line (\$33,000 in three years for "subscriptions" alone); and Robert H. Stewart, III, a director of Bright Star, is also president of the First National Bank. With such cooperation, Life Line could lose its tax-exempt status without peril; donors could go right on giving to it in a tax-exempt way through the charitable activities of Bright Star.

When Poucher left Life Line in a huff last year, he broadly hinted that there were all sorts of things about the foundation that might interest the revenue people. Poucher's suspicions had first been aroused by something he found out about the organization's postal permit.



In 1959, Life Line Foundation, Inc., caused an application to be filed with the Post Office for a second-class mailing permit of the kind commonly granted to "exempt" organizations. Why the application was not obtained in a straightforward way, as it doubtless could have been, has never been explained. Instead, the application stated that *Life Lines*, the newspaper, was sponsored by a Baptist church in Miami, Fla., and a Methodist church in Trout, La. The permit was quickly granted and became worth an estimated \$20,000 (minimum) a year to Life Line, Inc.

Then doubts began fermenting. Private individuals asked the Post Office to look behind the application, but up through 1962 it stoutly refused to do so. Then Poucher

found out that one of the "sponsoring" churches did not exist and that the other, if it existed, did not answer its mail. He told the Life Line board of directors he wanted no part of such a setup, but before he could quit on that count, Congressional insistence made the Post Office investigate and the second-class permit was canceled.

Then Poucher began looking into the organization's financial records more closely. He discovered that HLH businesses advertising with Life Line were not paying the same rate of fees as were paid by local advertisers around the nation. In fact, he found that HLH companies were not paying any fees at all on some stations.

A private research group in Washington, after studying Life Line's reported income from the sale of tapes and from talent fees, has estimated that Life Line sponsors are paying only from one-half to one-fifth as much for their advertising as are backers of other radio shows. The significance of this bargain radio time is that most of the sponsors of Life Line are Hunt food companies. By Hunt's own account, HLH food and drugs have spent up to \$100,000 a month in supporting Life Line. Although Hunt insists that there are hundreds of other Life Line advertisers, anyone who has followed the program knows his HLH foods carry the major financial load. Even if the Hunt enterprises pay the radio stations full rate for their time, but not Life Line, Inc., its appropriate talent fees, as Poucher charges, then obviously HLH foods use the staff, resources and talent of Life Line at a tax-free rate to promote and advertise their products.

The IRS and the FCC may be baffled by the complexity of this reasoning, but Hunt himself does not share their puzzlement. He candidly views Life Line and HLH Products as one and the same venture. Asked recently how much he had spent on Life Line in the last five years, he said, "It probably hasn't cost anything. As advertising, it's paid for itself." Advertising, that is, for HLH Products. It fits in with Hunt's philosophy: "Patriotism is always profitable."

Hunt's friend, the Reverend Criswell, sees the food and drug gambit in a different light. "He's pick-

ing up the \$100,000 a month tab on Life Line in the name of his food companies, I know that," said Criswell. "But he's building up the goods to give a front of legality to the program. Mr. Hunt is no groceryman." Criswell wistfully added, "I'd give my soul if I could get Mr. Hunt interested in something else."

Dan Smoot has estimated that Facts Forum had received for nothing \$5 million worth of "public service" time on radio and television. How much has Life Line received? Senator Warren Magnusen asked Newton Minow, then chairman of the FCC and Minow answered that he didn't know and couldn't find out without polling 4,500 stations. This was a clever, diversionary tactic, but the truth is that Minow would have had to poll only 331 stations — the number that broadcast Life Line.

"Public service" time, of course, carries no commercials, but in a way it is still advertising, because Hunt has so identified Life Line with HLH Products that now, for many people, to hear one is to think of the other, just as there was a time when to hear the Hit Parade was to think of Lucky Strike or to hear Ma Perkins was to think of Oxydol.

However, the FCC has shown itself just as reluctant to interfere with Hunt's opinion outlet as has the IRS. Supposedly, the FCC enforces a "fairness doctrine," which requires radio stations that present opinions on one side of a controversy to make time also for opinions on the other side.

But radio stations WKUL of Cullman, Ala., and WARF of Jasper, Ala., carried a Life Line program that was highly critical of the nuclear test-ban treaty. The chairman of the Citizens Committee for a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty demanded equal time, and the stations appealed to Ben F. Waple, secretary of the FCC, for a ruling. What they got was most reassuring: "If it is your good faith judgment," Waple said, that the public does not need to hear the pro-test treaty tape, "then your obligation pursuant to the 'fairness doctrine' has been met."

Behind the maze of financial patronage and broadcast practice lies still the question of Life Line's tax-exempt status as an "educa-

tion" program. The Nashville school board answered the question to its own satisfaction last year when it unanimously rejected the request to put the tabloid *Life Lines* in their schools.

Surprisingly, some within the inner circle are in agreement. Life Line adviser White says quite openly: "I think they (Life Line) try to put out the right kind of propaganda for a particular point of view." Propaganda was also what Angelo Santos, an agent for the Baltimore Internal Revenue office, called it. After studying all the radio transcripts for a year in detail, Santos ruled that Life Line is no "educational organization" but a propaganda mill churning out "unsupported opinion."

On the basis of Santos' report, the Baltimore office recommended that Life Line be dumped from the list of tax-exempt foundations. As yet this recommendation has not been carried out, and even if it is, Hunt can make several long-term appeals, taking his case eventually to court. Of his victory there Hunt feels confident because, as he is fond of saying, "I've been in court 280 times and never lost a case."

Which means that Hunt will probably be throwing out the Life Line for some time. For many who listen in, this will mean a source of weird and unintentional humor — as when one Life Line commentator solemnly avowed that the founding fathers would have turned down the idea of urban renewal.

But for millions of others, who believe they are listening to an educational program, the message must often be fearfully disquieting. Representative Hays believes Life Line "is so well disguised that a person who just listens casually might take it as gospel."

What reaction toward his government and its officials must such a person get who hears the gospel proclaim: "We can never afford to forget the nature of the opposition — entrenched in power, dedicated to their own twisted doctrine, experienced in reaching and subtly shaping public opinion, and given confidence by thirty years of almost unbroken success. Freedom can win over such adversaries only through a clear understanding of the issues—of truth and falsehood, right and wrong. . . ."

What must the casual listener

think today when he is told, "The Mistaken propagandists say they are against 'extremism,' but that is not really true. They are just against 'extreme patriotism' or 'extreme pro-Americanism' — and to them any patriotism is extreme and any degree of pro-Americanism is extreme."

Or what must the casual listener think of his government's efforts to come to grips with unemployment when he is told it is all in vain and that there is only one way, sacred in its simplicity: "If we all obeyed the divine command to be truthful and not to covet and steal, the problem of unemployment would be greatly mitigated or altogether solved."

Hunt — who has said the last decent President was Calvin Coolidge and that the Executive branch has been going downhill ever since — indignantly denies that the patriotism of Life Line could in any way help create an atmosphere of confusion or one congenial to violence. "If the Constitution of the

United States could incite to assassination," he said, looking out his office window and across the prosperous towers of Dallas, "then Life Line could incite it."

Hunt the loner is no longer alone. Sharing the adversity of embarrassment, the rightists of Dallas, joined by their friends across the nation, are closing ranks. Peter O'Donnell, the Dallas spark plug of the Goldwater campaign in Texas, has told many people he knows things about the Kennedy episode too terrible to speak of, which the Johnson Administration is covering up because it would place the blame where it belongs. Clarence Manion says he is in touch with "many friends in Dallas" who assure him that Earl Warren is behind the cover-up and that "when the truth is out, I would not be surprised to find some link with the dope traffic from Red China." He would not explain.

E. M. (Ted) Dealey, publisher of the *Dallas News*, which greeted Kennedy that day with a full-page ad alluding to treachery in the Ad-

ministration, now stands shoulder to shoulder with Hunt in denying any part in preparing the tragedy. Perhaps Dealey has forgotten that a few years ago he was quoted in the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* as calling Hunt a "latent Fascist." And patriot-commentator Dobbs probably speaks for all present and former employees of Life Line when he argues, with the logic of certitude: "No one who listens to Life Line could do such a thing. It [killing Presidents] isn't part of our pro-freedom plan."

Whatever the merits of these arguments, possibly this fellowship's best stratagem under the circumstances was laid down two years ago in one of the old man's memos. It is a stratagem that has kept Facts Forum-Life Line going for more than a decade under the thinnest veneer of public service, one that has kept most of the nation from knowing where the money and the impetus came from. In the words of Mr. H. L. Hunt: "It is not good to talk about Dallas too much."

De Gaulle's World View Alexander Werth

Paris
That loudly heralded press conference is over, and the first reaction was that de Gaulle said "nothing new." But if this were really so, why should everybody still be talking about it; why should the French press go on, day after day, speculating on what exactly the President meant about this and that, the while reprinting whole pages of comment from the world press? No doubt the establishment of diplomatic relations with Communist China had already been announced, and there was, therefore, nothing quite so explosive in de Gaulle's recent statement as in his press conference of a year ago, when he suddenly vetoed Britain's entry into the Common Market. Nevertheless, commentators the world over have continued to mull over the words — whether about the future of the French constitution, or about the future of Europe, or about that "sympathy and respect that France and China feel, deep down, for each other."

The French Communists were

thrown into great confusion by this Chinese question. *L'Humanité* felt obliged to report that in Moscow de Gaulle's decision to recognize Peking was regarded as being "in the interests of world peace," but editorially it said that, although recognition of China was something the French Communists had demanded ever since 1949, there was no doubt that "for de Gaulle China is, besides France, the only great power not to have subscribed to the test-ban treaty and that, in recognizing China, he wants to prop up his anti-peaceful-coexistence policy."

L'Humanité also charged that de Gaulle was cynically attempting to strengthen his own international position, gambling in this connection on "the divergencies existing between China and other Socialist countries." The Russians, however, do not seem to be much ruffled. On the contrary, the news from Moscow suggests that de Gaulle's proposal for a neutralization of Southeast Asia is very much in the "Moscow" line — much more, indeed,

than in the "Peking" line. That this may be so is suggested by the absence of any comment, so far, from Peking on the neutralization aspects of de Gaulle's position.

In the same period, Russian reactions to the latest "palace revolution" in Saigon have been very sharp; General Nguyen Khanh is represented as an American stooge, ready, at Washington's behest, to go to any lengths to wage war against the Viet Cong. *Le Monde* partly confirms this by saying that Khanh "regarded the triumvirate of Generals Minh, Don and Kim not only as halfhearted in its conduct of the war, but also as seriously affected by the evolution of French policy in Asia." It had been expected for some time, says *Le Monde*, that the "neutralist" tendency at Saigon would gain the upper hand, especially since General Minh had recalled from France his friend General Nguyen Van Vy, widely considered as "the Trojan horse of de Gaulle's neutralist policy," and had appointed him Deputy Chief of Staff. Now that the opposite has

happened, *Le Monde*, while denying that Van Vy was a French agent, still thinks that the "tough" policy represented by Khanh can only prove completely fruitless.

The American reactions to de Gaulle's "neutralist" policy have been carefully watched. One White House spokesman was widely quoted as saying that France had just about as much influence in Southeast Asia as had Luxemburg; on the other hand, much was made of C. L. Sulzberger's comment in *The New York Times*:

We don't want an expanded war and we haven't discovered how to win a limited war. . . . We may in the end be forced, begrudgingly, to ponder de Gaulle's unpleasant alternative.

As so often happens with de Gaulle, he deliberately left one point very vague in his press conference: he talked about the neutralization of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, but he was careful not to specify whether he meant the whole of Vietnam, or only South Vietnam. There is little real mystery here, however, for the neutralization of Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam would obviously be unacceptable to Peking, not to mention the North Vietnamese themselves. I understand that what de Gaulle really had in mind was a compromise with Peking along the following lines: Peking would abandon its demand that the 1954 Geneva Treaty be strictly applied, complete with the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the reunification of the country (which could only mean the extension of the North Vietnam Communist regime to the whole country). As against this, de Gaulle would endorse a *status quo* for North Vietnam, with Peking and Hanoi recognizing the neutrality of South Vietnam. This is precisely what President Johnson is firmly rejecting when he raises the question of "neutralizing" both parts of Vietnam, a proposal which, in de Gaulle's view, is unrealistic, since neither Peking nor Hanoi—nor Moscow, for that matter—would accept liquidation of the firmly established "Democratic People's Republic of Vietnam."

The question as to who is being more realistic will ultimately be answered by Peking. The Chinese are much less keen than the Russians

on "neutralist" solutions, but de Gaulle's bait may tempt the Chinese, all the same—if only because it would mean the departure of the bulk of Americans from South Vietnam.

Some foreign observers have detected in de Gaulle's Chinese policy a whiff of his old anti-Americanism, as well as a desire to regain in Southeast Asia some of the authority France lost after the fearful fiasco of 1954. There is certainly some truth in this: de Gaulle felt strongly the "shame of Dienbienphu," and his determination to demonstrate the futility of America's war in Vietnam—as futile as France's eight-year war—and to send France back there in her new role as the best friend of the underdeveloped countries is very strong indeed. Characteristic of de Gaulle was the seemingly real enthusiasm with which he spoke of the help France was giving the new African states, help it is now willing to extend to Asia and even to Latin America. But Asia, he argued, could not be stabilized without taking China into consideration. Here, as in the case of both South and North Vietnam, his line went entirely contrary to the American position.

Another enigmatic question is the extent to which the "Paris-Peking" axis is based on the refusal of both France and China to subscribe to the test-ban treaty. No one so far has suggested that the French are

going to give the atom bomb to China; but it is curious that the official Gaullist paper, *La Nation*, should link France's atomic tests with the recognition of China, declaring that "the new French installations in the Pacific called for the establishment of official relations with the principal power in that part of the world."

Like some great men in the past, de Gaulle does not think it necessary to be consistent. Three years ago, he called on Russia, as "part of the white race," to join Europe in resisting "the wretched and innumerable yellow multitudes of China." Today, while still distinguishing between Russia "which preserves and maintains" and China "which needs to grow and take" (in other words, between a "have" and a "have not" country), de Gaulle devoted to China one of those purple patches which go straight from his lips to his next anthology. It is now being asked whether de Gaulle was seriously alarmed by the test-ban treaty, in which he saw a perpetuation of a Soviet-Anglo-American nuclear monopoly in the world. *Le Monde* attributes the *rapprochement* with China precisely to de Gaulle's failure to be admitted to the "nuclear club." The new Chinese policy is also attributed by the same commentator to de Gaulle's desire to find "a new field of activity" after his failure to persuade his European partners, especially Erhard of Germany and Moro of Italy,



Dragon Dance

Macpherson: Toronto Star

The NATION

to join lines in a United Europe virtually outside the Atlantic Alliance.

All this would suggest that de Gaulle's motives are most questionable—the main one being simply to get France talked about as a major factor in international affairs, after the defeat of 1940 and some twenty years of eclipse. Most English papers tend to the view that de Gaulle genuinely relishes his gratuitous pinpricks—especially in the flanks of America and England—and there is little doubt that these jabs flatter, not only his own national ego, but that of a considerable part of French opinion, and thus strengthen the support given his regime. But this is only one side of the story, for it seems clear that, in the case of Southeast Asia, de Gaulle is convinced that he has a solution, not unlike the solutions he found for the former French empire in Africa, and that the United States has none. What is more, de Gaulle is aware of the enormous prestige he is enjoying in the underdeveloped countries as the apostle of "national independence." In this context, his "anti-Americanism" is an enormous asset, particularly in Latin America. Thus, Castro congratulated Ben Bella on Socialist Algeria's incredible luck to be subsidized by a capitalist country like France—a relationship quite unimaginable in Latin America. The Latin American countries are competing to invite de Gaulle to visit them, and they are moved not entirely by the prospect of cash, but also by what strikes them as the novelty of an approach devoid of bullying condescension.

Another question that presses for answer is what the news conference forecast for relations between France and the USSR. In what way (as the French Communists ask, but the Russians do not), is de Gaulle cashing in on Soviet-Chinese disagreements? So far, the Russians do not seem alarmed; on the contrary, they hope that, with France's help, China will now be admitted to the United Nations, a development which might even help to convert her to a "coexistence" outlook. M. Giscard d'Estaing, the French finance minister, had a reasonably friendly meeting with Mr. Khrushchev in Kiev, and the Soviet request for long-term credits for the purchase of industrial equip-

ment (including chemical equipment) is being favorably considered in Paris. The famous CIA story about Russia's economic mess, which is being carted round all the European capitals by CIA chief, John A. McCone, has had very little impact. Russia did indeed have considerable economic difficulties as a result of last year's drought; and Khrushchev is determined to buy vast quantities of equipment abroad for his "more fertilizers" drive—all of which will make him step warily in international affairs, despite occasional outbursts of bluster and bravado. But, short of another agricultural catastrophe in 1964, there is no evidence that Russia faces economic crisis. Not only have the Russians published detailed figures to disprove the CIA's analysis, but no serious West European economist has, as far as I know, treated it as more than a propaganda device.

De Gaulle talked a lot at his press conference about Europe, but in fact he said very little that was new. His opposition to Britain's entry into the Common Market is unaltered, though some observers found rather striking the relative politeness with which he now alluded to the Brussels commission. In the past he tended to make cracks about these experts, calling them "stateless cosmopolitans." But, of course, it was these experts who at Christmas saved the Common Market by recommending the acceptance of the French "ultimatum" on agriculture. Moreover, de Gaulle now seems inclined to relaunch his idea of political union—though, as noted above, he is meeting with some opposition from the pro-Atlantic elements.

Some day, of course, de Gaulle will die, but I thought there was a note of wishful thinking in one American report from the press conference that he has "terribly aged in the last six months." To me, he still looked in reasonably good shape for a man of seventy-three. Even so, he gave no clear answer to the question whether he would stand for re-election in 1965.

De Gaulle's proposed opponent in the next Presidential election has turned out, after a little mystification in the press, to be M. Gaston Defferre, the Socialist mayor of Marseilles. Defferre, who supported

de Gaulle in the constitutional referendum in 1958, and whose vote gave the pro-de Gaulle tendency at the Socialist Congress that year a clear majority, was selected as the Socialist candidate by the Socialist Congress which met at Clichy on February 1 and 2. This approval came as an uneasy compromise between Defferre and Guy Mollet, the secretary-general of the party, the former demanding the maximum freedom of action and the latter the greatest dependence on the Socialist Party. Defferre had also made it fairly clear that he was not opposed to the 1958 constitution which, if strictly applied, could work as a "reasonably democratic" constitution. Mollet argued in favor of a drastic revision of the constitution. In the end, this question of constitutional revision was left in suspense, and Mollet in effect submitted to the will of the Congress' majority. Although Defferre realizes that he would stand very little chance of being elected without the support of the Communists, he was very careful—partly in order not to upset the Molletists—to avoid mention of any eventual "alliances" on which he might want to rely. The Communists, for their part, are extremely dissatisfied with Defferre's failure to talk in "Popular Front" terms, and on the quiet are even accusing him of some sort of crypto-Gaullism.

If the election took place tomorrow, I am certain that de Gaulle would get some 65 or 70 per cent of the votes. But anything might happen in two years' time. The real problem is not who will oppose de Gaulle in the next Presidential election, but who would take de Gaulle's place if he were to die or retire before the election? Is a Gaullist regime conceivable without de Gaulle? Defferre does not imagine for a moment that he could win in a straight fight against de Gaulle, but he might have a chance against de Gaulle's dauphin (M. Michel Debré, perhaps). Even then the Left candidate would, in his own view, have to be careful not to make any hasty promises about pulling down the whole of the Gaullist edifice. Whether the Fifth Republic survives, or is replaced by a Sixth Republic, the majority of French opinion is today, rightly or wrongly, terrified of returning to anything that resembles the Fourth.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Cuba: Invitation to Reason

CUBA: TRAGEDY IN OUR HEMISPHERE. By Maurice Zeitlin and Robert Scheer. Grove Press. 316 pp. 95c paper.

CHRISTIANITY AND REVOLUTION. By Leslie Dewart. Herder and Herder. 320 pp. \$5.50.

CUBA: The Economic and Social Revolution. Edited by Dudley Seers. University of North Carolina Press. 432 pp. \$7.50.

James O'Connor

In the recent avalanche of books about Cuba, it is encouraging to read these three studies which challenge the official American view and seek to do the revolution scholarly justice by objective, detailed examination.

Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere is a chronicle of U.S.A.-Cuban relations during the fateful years, 1959 to 1961, and a skillful rebuttal of the position set forth in the State Department White Paper published shortly before the Cuban invasion of April, 1961, that Fidel Castro deliberately initiated the economic and diplomatic war against the United States. The major theses of the State Department are tumbled like so many bowling pins: that the Cuban Government mounted invasions of other Caribbean nations in 1959; that Castro suppressed a free press in 1960; that the Cuban-Soviet trade agreement of February, 1960, was fundamentally motivated by political instead of economic interests. In particular, the authors argue with careful documentation that the question of "Communists in government" in 1959 was a completely phony issue.

As a sustained polemic against the State Department's warrant for its hostility to the Cuban revolution, the book is praiseworthy. We cannot be reminded too often of the hollowness of our original United States official line toward Cuba. If the United States today promises to support social reform in Latin America, it is well to remember that this country was dead set against Cuba's own reform program. If the United States is ready to place large-scale investment funds at

Latin America's disposal, we should recall that Cuba was not offered a penny in 1959. And so forth.

The chief fault of the book lies in the authors' eagerness to credit the State Department for the emergence of Cuban socialism. "If, in Cuba today (mid-1961), the chances for political democracy are slim, if Cuba accepts and imitates Soviet methods uncritically, and comes increasingly under Communist influences, if there now be an end to civil liberties for some time to come, it is a result of our government's policies." Elsewhere the authors hedge somewhat when they write: "... infatuation with the Soviet example" was "probably inevitable as a result of American policies."

Actually, what attracted Cuba to the Soviet experience was its proven ability to mobilize resources for rapid economic development. The authors lose their usually sure touch on this particular question because of their superficial analysis of the pre-revolutionary political economy, together with their failure to probe those forces at work within Cuba which produced socialism. They rightly argue that Castro was "prepared to take whatever steps (he) deemed necessary to assure the people a rising material and cultural standard of living," but nowhere do they explain why socialism with central economic planning (instead, for example, of reformed capitalism along the lines of the New Deal or state capitalism à la Peron) was necessary. Until this question receives a satisfactory answer, Theodore Draper and his followers will find a ready audience for their "revolution betrayed" thesis.

Leslie Dewart's generally sympathetic account of the revolution, *Christianity and Revolution*, is in part a critique of the Zeitlins and Scheers who argue that "the explanation of Castro's turn to communism is to be found simply and exclusively in American foreign policy . . ." and partly supplements Zeitlin and Scheer's account of the rationale for this policy. Dewart documents the existence of a free Church press in open opposition to Castro until late in 1960, well after the State Department had convinced the American public that the Cuban

Government had stifled all opposition. He agrees with Zeitlin and Scheer that the United States "forced [Cuba] into [an] economic and . . . political alliance with Russia," but adds that Castro adopted the ideology of Marxism-Leninism by his own free choice. Radicalized by domestic and foreign opposition to needed reforms (Dewart also fails to analyze why specifically Socialist measures were appropriate in Cuba), Castro took the path of Marxism-Leninism for two reasons. It eased the task of educating what Dewart calls a "politically illiterate" people, and Castro was compelled to accept an alliance with both the Cuban Communists and the Soviet Union. A Catholic and an idealist, Dewart does not offer the alternative hypothesis that Castro easily and naturally distilled his own experiences during the first three years of the revolution into his own special brand of Marxism-Leninism.

This first section of Dewart's book is poorly documented and leans too heavily on syllogistic reasoning while slighting specific analysis of Cuban economic and political reality. It also suffers from an excessive urbanity; Dewart makes the mortal conflict of interests between revolutionary Cuba and the United States seem almost like a civilized chess game. Thus he attaches too little importance to the political role played in 1959-60 by Americans with major economic interests in Cuba.

The first criticism mentioned above cannot be made of Dewart's analysis of Church-state relations before and after the revolution. In these sections, the book breaks fresh ground although the lessons which the author later draws from the Cuban experience for the "Universal Church" would appear to have significance mainly for Catholics. His analysis of the reactionary stance of key elements in the Cuban Church hierarchy throws needed light on the "suppression" of the Church in 1961 — a development widely misunderstood in the United States. Dewart shows how the logic of the Church's militant and ritualistic anti-communism compelled it to abandon and finally oppose the revolution. With few exceptions, members of the hierarchy neither supported the reforms of 1959-60, nor offered meaningful alternatives to them. As for the role of the Church in the old Cuba, Dewart

James O'Connor, an American economist now teaching at Brooklyn College, has made three trips to Cuba since the revolution. He is presently completing a book on the political economy of Cuba.

supports Castro's allegations (hurled at the Church in March, 1961) that it failed to condemn the graft, exploitation, profiteering and political murders which flourished under Batista.

It might be said that Dewart does not emphasize sufficiently that the hierarchy's increasing opposition to Castro in 1959 on the grounds of anti-communism was to a large degree a pretext for opposing basic reforms per se. The Communists, after all, did not figure prominently in the revolution until 1960 when they began to share control of the unions. Dewart suggests that the Church was really against agrarian reform (a fact obscured by its anti-communism) when he writes that the circles of politically active Catholics and the *latifundistas* overlapped, but he does not fully develop this theme.

Dewart's book, together with the volume by Zeitlin and Scheer, would have had a sharper focus had the authors stated clearly that the real division in 1959 and 1960 was not between the 26th of July Movement (headed by Castro) and the Communists, but rather between the radical non-Communist and the anti-Communist moderate wing of the July 26th Movement over socialistic reform issues such as the provision in the Agrarian Reform Law encouraging the formation of rural cooperatives. That a handful of revolutionaries in the first camp have defected over the Communist issue should not obscure the fact that the mass of defections have come from the second.

Unlike the first two books, it is not the intention of Dudley Seers and his collaborators to offer a theory of the Cuban revolution. *Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution* is rather a straightforward analysis of the structural changes in agriculture and industry, together with a tentative assessment of their performance from 1959 to 1962 (written by two Chilean economists), and a detailed account of educational progress in the new Cuba (put together by an English economist). The authors have amassed a great deal of statistical material on the revolution, although the Ministry of Education was apparently the only branch of the government which opened all of its files to them. A full-scale analysis awaits the utilization of the 1963 and 1964 Economic Plans, the 1963 Annual Statistical Yearbook and other key documents which were unavailable to the authors. Meanwhile, this is the best material available in

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English on the Cuban economy, and, for those who want a microscopic view of the subject, the book is worth buying despite the bad editing, needless repetition and heavy-handed style.

Seers's introduction is the weakest chapter, partly because he takes on the difficult task of surveying the whole economy and partly because he chooses to treat the economy apart from political developments, when in this period the two were closely bound up with each other. Thus, he does not assess the effects of the embargo on the level of production, for example, although this is clearly of central importance. The Chileans fare much better, while the descriptive sections of the chapters on education can only be characterized as definitive. The theme which emerges from the book as a whole is that the structural changes in the Cuban social economy are by and large rational, that the problems confronting Cuban planners are essentially temporary in nature, and that the island has a going economy. It is to the authors' great credit that they took the trouble to document these conclusions, and it is to the credit of the University of North Carolina Press that it published them.

Tree of Images

SELECTED POEMS OF OCTAVIO PAZ: A Bilingual Edition. Translated by Muriel Rukeyser. Indiana University Press. 171 pp. \$5.75.

J. M. Cohen

Octavio Paz is one of the world's best living poets. In the twenty-five years represented in his collection of 1960 (from which he and Muriel Rukeyser have made this selection), he has developed from a delicate imagist by way of a moderate surrealism to a visionary who attempts to resolve the eternal opposites: dream and reality, self and beloved or not-self — and, more personal to himself, the Aztec past and the unformed future of his native Mexico. Drawing images from sharply contrasting fields, he counterpoints them, combines them, transmutes them and finally fades them out in the light of pure creation, bringing his poem back to the moment of inspiration in which, to quote the

J. M. Cohen is the translations editor for Penguin books and author of *Poetry of This Age* (Grey Arrow, London).

concluding lines of "Hymn among Ruins,"

*Intelligence finally takes flesh in form
and the two enemy halves are reconciled —
now the conscience-mirror liquifies
and is a spring again, a fountain
of legends:
Man, tree of images,
words that are flowers that are
fruit that are deeds.*

The poet does not always achieve this complete resolution. One of his later

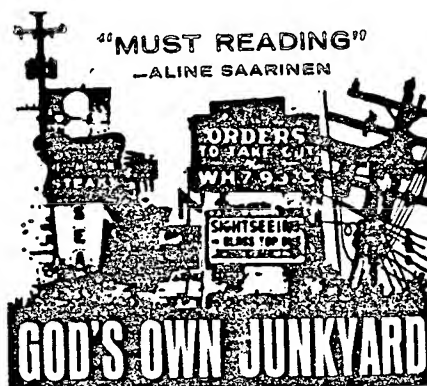
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poems indeed bears the questioning title, "Is there an Exit?"

Octavio Paz's method can be called the "stream of imagery." Poetry is for him "the seed of a singing like a tree," a natural phenomenon that possesses a man like dream or vision, or like the soul itself. For him images take the place of thought and follow thought patterns. He does not surrender to random dream associations. In this, there is some parallel with the Dylan Thomas of "Fern Hill," as in his musical structure there is some resemblance to the Eliot of the "Quartets." But though Eliot has been an influence, Thomas has not, for the "stream of imagery" technique was practiced by Carlos Pellicer, an older Mexican poet, in his richly inventive tropical Odes ten years before Paz started writing. The strength of Paz's poetry lies in its powers of metaphysical evocation; idea becomes palpable, creation appears as a fountain, a "tree of images."

Since this poetry does not rely on rhyme or depend very much on assonance, and since its lines are irregular within a fixed norm, it might seem to offer an easy task to the translator. In fact it does not. Muriel Rukeyser has the advantage of dedication and of a poetic talent (most pronounced in her sequence *Waterlily Fire*) that is akin to her author's. Her difficulties are of interpretation, since Paz's connections are associative rather than logical, and many of his images contain baroque ambiguities.

Where his meaning is not clear-cut, he lends himself to a kind of abstract rhetoric in which Latin-root words are rendered by their cognate equivalents and colloquialisms are uneasily matched with English phrases that do not sound quite authentic. Muriel Rukeyser is at her best where Paz gives her some opportunities for lyricism, as in the earlier poems and in the "Interrupted Elegy" with its initial hurdy-gurdy refrain, "Now I remember the dead of my own house." But there are moments also when she renders perfectly Paz's metaphysical flow and complexity, as in this stanza from "Masks of Dawn":

*The prisoner of his imagining
weaves and unravels his weaving
sightlessly,
scrapes at his scars, plays games
with the letters of his name,
scatters them,
and then they insist on the same
havoc,
set in the setting of his corroded
name.
He goes from himself toward him-
self, he turns,
in the center of himself he steps
and shouts
Who's there? and the fountain of
his questioning
opens its amazed flower, glistens,
its stalk hisses, it bends its head,
and finally, in its dizziness
collapses,
shattered like the sword against the
wall.*

Here fine poetry has found its subtle equivalent. Paz, like Rilke, Pasternak and Montale, is now within the reach of those who cannot read the originals.

Letter from Mexico City

Roslyn Rosen

An Orozco painting hangs on the wall of the extravagant new Hotel Maria Isabel. The green and white head of a fisherman lies on its side in death, a fish net caught between its teeth. In a doorway near the hotel I saw a pregnant prostitute smile secretly. At first everybody looks pregnant in Mexico, especially the middle-class men. The girls hang out around the great monument topped by the golden angel of independence. During the 1957 earthquake the angel fell. Some say the patriotic prostitutes rushed out to save the beloved pieces. Others say they flocked because they thought the gold was real.

In the hotel you walk past the Orozco on thick red carpets up broad

stairs. An enormous expanse of glass discloses a fountain several stories high that plays over colored lights by night and goes off by day. It reminded me of the fountain in the film *Mon Oncle* that was turned on when visitors came. But Mexico — or Cesare Balsa, the hotel king — doesn't mind if you look down into the big square hole in the morning to see the machinery of magic. As the novelist Carlos Fuentes said, "The up and coming bourgeoisie doesn't give a damn what you see, what you say about them. They are on

Roslyn Rosen has written short stories, lyrics and skits for several Broadway revues, and a three-act play produced at Loyola University.

the rise and that's all they care about."

A ride around the Jardines de Pedregal would convince anyone that they had already risen. Gorgeous modern homes of charcoal and white lava stone compete with one another. Fantastic rock gardens can be seen through iron gates. In the Colonia Polanco, one of many substantial neighborhoods, well-kept old Spanish houses stand next to glass-paned apartment buildings, their stucco already cracking. In empty lots at the edge of the city, dark women wearing their hair in braids, wash clothes in pails at faucets placed at intervals by the government. Behind them you can see the rotten shacks of tin, beaverboard, clay, straw.

Between the extremes rises the remarkable government-built housing. We drove slowly past a new project near the Shrine of Guadalupe which will soon house 150,000 people — with shopping centers, swimming pools, nurseries, a clinic, a theatre, playgrounds with colored corkscrew slides, covered walks where people will pass during the rainy season. Beyond the project pilgrims, most of them women, walk the three miles to the shrine. Some walk on their knees.

The women of Mexico are disturbing. The voices of telephone operators sound small as children's. The wife of a cosmetics manufacturer spoke to me about her servants: "The women are kind and dependable. The men," she shuddered, "are animals."

Mary Bingham Urquidi, a government worker and mother of Victor Urquidi, the South American economist, said, "We have almost as many women doctors here as men. Women are lawyers, deputies, senators. They don't get equal pay in offices, but they do in factories. More than one million former servants are now factory workers. All lower-class women work hard in Mexico." I asked whether it was true that the women were mistreated, and she looked me in the eye, "Yes," she said, "The men are brutes."

Somehow I didn't believe that the men are brutes. I saw men carrying babies, fathers walking with their families in the well-used Chapultepec Park, middle-aged couples and large families complete with papa watching the mechanical figures under the glorious lights of the National Lottery Building on Christmas Eve. But mama is omnipresent. And in Mexican art every other painting is a Madonna.

Robert Cuba Jones, a Quaker who runs the Villa Jones, an International Cultural Center, told me, "There are

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more women registered at the universities than men, perhaps because they have less economic pressure. More women than men finish their courses. There is every opportunity for the bright woman to advance, but many do not want to accept the responsibility."

Probably all of these statements are true, for the women of Mexico, like the men, are individuals, as the new painters and writers are discovering. The artists and sculptors call the humanism which they are trying to express *Interiorismo*, or the *Nueva presencia* in art.

"Our novels used to be big and impersonal," said Carlos Fuentes. "Man against nature. Now that Mexicans have found their identity we can proceed to books about human beings."

The architect and muralist, Juan O'Gorman, who did the library of the University of Mexico, is not impressed with the new movement. When my husband and I visited him in his home across the street from the well-guarded establishment of President Lopez Mateos, he said he considered it a completely minor trend based on hate, not love. He associated it with the revolutionary violence in Orozco's work. Nothing I had heard or read indicated that this was so, but I wondered whether admitting that hatred exists was not healthy. Discussing the assassination of President Kennedy, a Mexican spoke of his horror at the "layers of hatred" in the United States. In Latin America they are closer to the surface.

Perhaps because he is a builder, Mr. O'Gorman thinks in an organized fashion. He spoke first of the two streams of art in his country — the art imported from Spain and France, and the true Mexican, the popular art with its houses, toys, pottery, and the little animal images burned on holy days, the weaving, clothes, food. In that tradition he included artists like José Posada, the engraver, Jalisco, José Maria Estrada, the many anonymous painters down to the three great revolutionary artists, Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros.

"And O'Gorman?" we asked.

He talked about his commitment to organic regional architecture, the "harmony of man with earth," as opposed to the international architecture of Le Corbusier and Mies Van der Rohe.

Remembering the high wall surrounding his home, I asked O'Gorman why so many Mexican homes, even the newest, are still walled in. In the

States we seem to be more open and trusting.

"Because the tradition remains. The best people colonized your country, the Huguenots, the Puritans. Here we had the worst, the Cortez gangsters. Do you know that we still have haciendas and serfs? True, more than 50 per cent of the land has been divided, but the government is not ready to change everything. Some land must be kept," he smiled, "to do a little robbing in-between."

A benign acceptance of corruption seems to be universal. Everybody knows that everybody cheats a little. Carlos Fuentes was to say later, also smiling, "Everyone has his right to bite. Read Balzac. Read Samuel Pepys."

Now O'Gorman was saying, "But the government is doing a good job. A pear tree cannot give oranges. The P.R.I. [the government party] holds within its ranks the former revolutionary elements. Management is able to keep the people quiet."

He pointed at us, "Remember the important thing, that within the robbery part goes to the people. The enrichment of the bourgeois class is a

necessary process. It's this or Cuba."

We asked about the Left movement.

"What Left? Certainly not Toledano and his twenty-five friends. The Communist Party?" He raised his hands, "The Communist Party is the worst of all reactionaries. Mateos and the government is the only Left."

"Like the liberal wing of the Democratic Party?" I asked.

"More like Humphrey. Or Stevenson at one time." He was thoughtful for a moment. "Perhaps a little more like Paul Douglas. At one time."

"Mateos has to defend Mexican investments against foreign investments both as the government and as the representative of his class."

He moved closer to us. He enjoys talking. "You know Cárdenas was only possible because he lived at the time of Roosevelt. The expropriation of Mexican oil was possible because the United States made no opposition. Juarez was possible because he lived at the time of Lincoln. Lincoln was a great friend of Mexico." We saw a gleam in O'Gorman's blue eyes. "We owe a monument to Lincoln."

Since we were speaking of that radical fellow, Lincoln, I ventured to ask about Siqueiros.



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"Siqueiros is a complete sectarian. He is like Don Quixote. He went out to save the people, but every time he talked about the *Caballeros* he went crazy. When Siqueiros talks about politics he goes crazy."

We asked about the poverty, especially in the rural areas. Yes, there is poverty, O'Gorman said, but there is great industrial development too — new discoveries of natural resources, mining in Guadalajara, iron in Monterrey, enormous growth in Vera Cruz.

Saying goodbye at the gate, he inclined his head and kissed my hand. Personally, O'Gorman is a man of unlimited charm. Politically? Perhaps like Paul Douglas — at one time.

The cab driver who had been waiting for us was awed by our host. On our way to see the university we passed several of the ubiquitous pictures of Diaz Ordaz, the lone candidate of the government party, to succeed the retiring Mateos. In a high tenor the driver spoke about the virtues of Ordaz. We asked whether he thought Siqueiros would be released when Ordaz took office. He laughed. Maybe. Maybe not. Siqueiros makes too much trouble.

We were surprised at the general cynicism about the artist. So-called progressive people told us that Siqueiros talks too much, that he's a complete anarchist, that he's living well in jail. His situation was compared to that of Trotsky's assassin, who had reportedly had meals from the best restaurants sent to him in prison and had lived there in a handsome apartment. We were told that Siqueiros pays a boy a peso to read him poetry as he paints, that he pays someone to do his yard duty. Only one leftist said, "Remember the man is sixty-seven years old. He's been in jail four years because he's incorruptible. His crime was trying to clean up the Communist Party and make it effective." Though there have been a few demonstrations, there is no evidence of unified pressure within the country to free the artist.

Robert Cuba Jones arranged for me to see Dr. Gaston Novello, who is in charge of the *Relaciones Internacionales* of the Social Security department. The new social security building covers about four square blocks on the broad Paseo de la Reforma. The sunlight streams into this busy place. Office workers in shirt sleeves run back and forth. Families with many children wait in line at the information desk. The large elevators

are crowded. Dr. Novello speaks little English, so his secretary, Mrs. Urquidi, took me in hand. She told me about the work of the Social Security centers, one in every small or large community in the country, each equipped with its medical facilities, gymnasium, training center. The training program is most impressive. A new tax of 1 per cent has just been placed on all workers for further education.

I noticed that every center has a theatre. Mrs. Urquidi was enthusiastic about the ballets and plays performed by the workers. She had just seen an exciting evening of folk dance by a company of Indian women. I had heard that the professional theatre in Mexico City has no great importance for sophisticates, but that the workers are discovering the medium. The government has just allocated money to reduce the price of theatre tickets and bus fares. Carlos Fuentes had told me that the peasants in proletarian districts went wild about *The Trojan Women* and *Medea*. They could identify with grand tragedy.

"Criticism is easy," said Dr. Novello. "It is the intellectuals' way of life. We do the work."

Undoubtedly these are earnest people. The program of the Social Security is good — free medical care, old-age pensions, continuous education and building. The catch is that its benefits extend only to 5 million people. The great sea of poverty remains. The population is increasing at the rate of 3.5 per cent annually. "Mexico is an octopus," said my leftist informant. "Its head is Mexico City. We have the curse of centralization." Yet here in this great city, near the new factories and office buildings like the forty-four-story Torre Latino Americana, higher than the Empire State — here were the shacks and the "Children of Sanchez."

I sought out Carlos Fuentes because nobody had suggested that I see him. I knew he had been barred from entering the United States to appear on a television program, and that Paris had not been afraid to receive him. His two novels were extremely successful in Mexico. The first, *Where the Air Is Clear*, had been published in the States by Obolensky. Mr. Jones, a pacifist, said he disagreed with Fuentes on the question of violence. I was curious.

The novelist looked anything but violent when I first saw him — a quiet young man sitting reading in a

quiet garden, next to a swimming pool.

He came in from the garden and we commented on the beauty of his home. Yes, he said with a quick smile, he was definitely part of the middle class, yet isolated from it. Though he smiles affably, I found him reserved. We chatted a while and I asked him, perhaps brusquely because I was not at ease, whether he believed that the lot of the Mexican people could be improved through peaceful means.

"Yes. Absolutely. The back of feudalism has been broken. We have the instrument, a progressive constitution that is not being used."

"But I believe that the state must intervene. It must bridge the gulf between our urban development and our rural backwardness."

He was quiet a moment, "There is real starvation in this country."

I told him I had heard about severe political repression in the rural areas. Was this so? He spoke about the murder of the peasant leader Jaramillo, who had been killed together with his wife and children.

I repeated some of the rumors I had heard about Siqueiros.

"It doesn't matter whether these things are true or not," he said. "The constitution has been flouted. The man should not be in jail."

I felt the pauses as he waited for questions. He was certainly different from Juan O'Gorman. Perhaps he had more reason for caution. We asked how the intellectuals felt about the designation of Ordaz as the presidential candidate.

He gazed at us, "We joke about it—which is, I suppose, our way of not facing it. Actually Lopez Mateos wanted to make a show of democracy."

He tilted his chair back and stared out of the window. "I don't believe this story has ever been printed. Mateos wanted to run two candidates—Diaz Ordaz and Miranda Fonseca—but the labor leaders objected. None of them wanted to be stuck with a losing candidate. They'd be out of power for six years."

He was silent again, then continued, "This is a critical situation, this violation of the constitution."

We asked whether there was any resistance. He shook his head. I said I had heard about the Centro Campesino Independiente, a rural peasant organization, and the urban Frente Electoral del Pueblo.

He corrected my pronounciation. Yes, he knew about them.

Does the latter include the Communists? I asked.

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"Yes, but the Communist Party is up in Mars," he said. "And by the way, Moscow is quite happy with Mexico. So is the United States. It's this or Cuba."

Then how did he account for Mexico's policy of neutrality toward Cuba?

"We have to be neutral, after all Mexico has gone through. And of course the Mexican Government is very grateful for Castro. He maintains U.S. anxiety. He brings in U.S. money." He laughed. "I think that every night all the Latin American governments light a candle to Castro."

I guided the conversation toward the novel and he became animated. He spoke of the new personalization. The future of the novel, he believes, rests with Latin America. "Our novels surge from a need, not a commercial arrangement as in your country."

He admitted that he admires many American writers—Updike, Bellow. Malamud is marvelous. He spoke about an old woman in one of his own stories who kept the skulls of her ancestors under her room and took them out and painted them on holy days.

"You see, we don't have to create an 'absurd.' This woman actually existed."

Here I was, back to the subject of the women of Mexico. I asked about the seeming submissiveness.

"Only on the surface," he said. "This is a matriarchal society. The women are strong, so the men must assert themselves."

I told him about the pregnant prostitute. I had seen another since that first night in Mexico City. I admitted I had been shocked.

He smiled tolerantly, and his tolerance was for me. "Our prostitutes are really warm-hearted. They don't want to be lonely when they have outlived their careers. You know, every prostitute here wears a medal of the Virgin of Guadalupe around her neck."

He was kidding me a little, but still he spoke tenderly, as tenderly as Nelson Algren writes on the subject. Novelists adore prostitutes. "We have a story that just before a girl performs her act she slides her medal to the back of her neck. And if she has a little plaster saint, she tosses a cloth over it."

I wondered if that wasn't Mexico today. Covering her saint, but only during the act. Siqueiros in jail, but comfortably. An Orozco hanging on the wall of the Maria Isabel.

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Auspices: Dissent

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THEATRE

Harold Clurman

The time has come to speak of architecture or, since we are dealing with New York, of real estate. Such considerations may shock those who think of the theatre as literature but he knows no theatre who only knows its texts. Some playgoers still remember Duse quietly acting Ibsen on the boards of the Metropolitan Opera and similar houses during the 1924 season that killed her.

Rugantino, a "Roman Musical Spectacle," book, lyrics and direction by Garinei and Giovannini, music by Armando Trovatioli, has been highly suc-

cessful in the city of its origin. It has been brought to Broadway almost intact. The playbill offers a summary of the plot, highlights of the witty dialogue are flashed as titles on a narrow screen lowered from the flies just above the sets.

It is, or might be, a charming affair. There is a typical Roman "wickedness" about it: casual, cynical, blasphemous and acridly gay. It is not a bit boisterous. Its libidinousness takes on an almost humdrum air. Life is viewed with good-humored disrespect: sometimes cruel, frequently dirty, often simply foolish, and almost always a little funny. With some *pasta*, a girl, a draught of wine, a tune, the permission of a curse, living may be suffered with an indulgent shrug and smile.

As I watched the many scenes unfold with a sort of unspectacular colorfulness I was reminded of a warm spring evening when I stood with some Italian friends on a modestly sparkling Roman piazza among clusters of ordinary citizens, all apparently conversing in a relaxed animation. I said to my companion, "How happy these people seem." "They are not happy," I was told, "they are simply accustomed to their misery."

Rugantino, a kind of picaresque tale of Rome in 1830 (there are tinkling political and perhaps anti-clerical overtones), has a subdued cheerfulness which induced in me a nostalgia for those aspects of the Eternal City not yet overwhelmed by its Marshall Plan bluster.

Still, I could not really enjoy the performance. The Mark Hellinger Theatre is too large. Seeing on these premises a basically intimate show whose actors do little more than speak their songs and deliver their lines with "naturalistic" offhandedness is like attempting to drink champagne from a bathtub.

Why was so large a theatre used for a musical which, for all the variety of its settings and the largeness of its cast, is essentially a miniature? The answer has to do on the one hand with economics and on the other with a failure by the American producers to realize the nature of the offering. It is expensive to import so physically elaborate a production and it must cost a lot to operate. Thus, a theatre with a vast seating capacity, which if

it does *My Fair Lady* business may gross upwards of \$60,000 a week, is rented. But such a theatre mars the quality of *Rugantino*. For it is against the grain of the company's talent to project, to put the sound of its music over with a bang—a technique which comes naturally to participants in our musicals. As a result one hears very little of *Rugantino's* spoken text, and the music—agreeable without being particularly fresh—lends the barely audible lyrics little more than a dim accompaniment.

And why, to voice an entirely personal complaint, make matters worse by seating a reviewer at so great a distance from the stage (which in this theatre is only Row N) that he cannot even appreciate the company's feminine assets?

When in 1946 the Israeli Habimah company last played *The Dybbuk* in New York the production was already twenty-four years old. Originally given in Moscow after two years of rehearsal under the direction of Stanislavsky's "disciple," the great Vachtangov, it was one of the most consummately original productions of the era.

The play—written to begin with in Russian—has been translated and performed in virtually every world capital. The Vachtangov-Habimah production (in Hebrew), which I saw for the first time in Paris in 1926, and twice since, left an indelible impression. Though it may still hold some interest for those who have never seen it, it was a mistake after all these years for the Habimah to return to New York with it.

What was once a revolutionary commentary on a remote past, a kind of grotesque ballet of mystic customs and superstitions which were being entombed with hieratic ceremony, has become a misshapen and threadbare imitation of the primary pattern. It now bears the stamp of conventional Jewish theatrics. The Habimah has some splendid actors in its company—how touchingly S. Finkel as the aged rabbi in the last act says "I am old; I am sick"—but they always require the firm hand of a master director.

Vachtangov died in 1922 and his *dybbuk* (or spirit) no longer possesses the play. We shall have to await the presentation of two contemporary works before we make any further comment on the present Habimah season at the Little Theatre.

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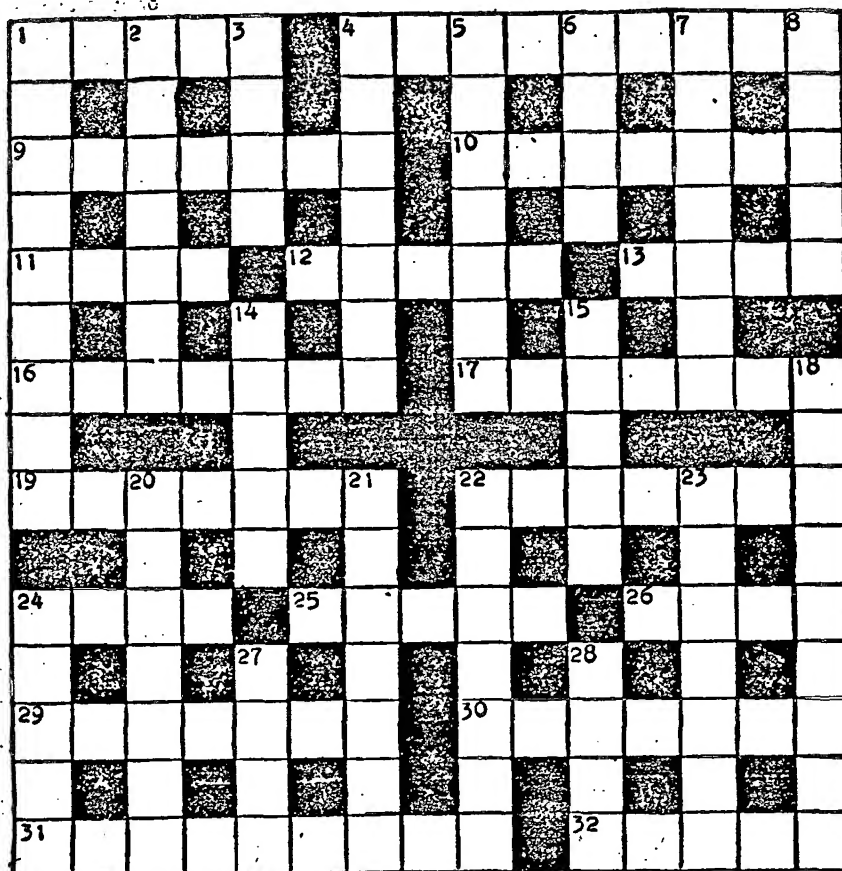
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Crossword Puzzle No. 1047

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 Drag by chain a treacherous person. (5)
- 4 Such a religious doctrine seems to criticize the doctrine. (9)
- 9 No Indian tribe made up so peculiarly could be really bad. (7)
- 10 Disclose in confidence. (7)
- 11 and 24 across The bottom of glass dancing slippers might have them. (4, 4)
- 12 With a following, such a job would imply uncontrollable movement.
- 13 What's in the tape drive is faithfully reproduced. (4)
- 16 Next above the royal type, half blue, half white. (7)
- 17 Slip, due for a change, to an early politician! (7)
- 19 Give way to force. (7)
- 22 Descriptive of Kipling's rickshaw.
- 24 See 11 across
- 25 Following 1, reputedly low vessels.
- 26 In retrospect, would this man be green? (4)
- 29 A rough sort in paper back, perhaps, due to the grain. (7)
- 30 It should be obvious I'd have something happening around it. (7)
- 31 Try and see what you can make of it sitting down! (9)
- 32 Hyperion, for example. (5)

DOWN:

- 1 Shyness, it seems, is rather complex. (9)

- 2 The wrong exit in any situation should cause concern. (7)
- 3 School of rising importance. (4)
- 4 Seasonal with the sound of a philosopher. (7)
- 5 If not on one side or another, one might be a real nut! (7)
- 6 A tramp in the country, usually.
- 7 As the queen upon a card, in Tennyson's "Aylmer's Field". (7)
- 8 The demi-monde comes up like 13, when not done badly. (5)
- 14 Whole scale. (5)
- 15 and 28 Does where the old armorer worked have a distinctive flavor?
- 18 Common measure obviously not learned. (9)
- 20 Does the matador like his to attract the bull's attention, or might it just as easily be skipped? (7)
- 21 Not the country Greenwich is in.
- 22 How things are, if potted in Philadelphia? (7)
- 23 Storm on the stage? (7)
- 24 More than one 12, but the years have harder ones than listening to a whisper or a sigh, according to Benet. (5)
- 27 Don't pay any mind to what the sergeant says! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1046

ACROSS: 1 Sleeping Beauty; 9 Unarmed; 10 Hetaera; 11 Reason; 12 In the red; 14 Epitaph; 15 Pumps; 17 Essay; 19 Tendons; 21 Bass tuba; 23

PUBLICATIONS

DIVERTING to diplomats, titillating to teachers, intriguing to international travelers, handy for housewives, "1964 World Holiday Calendar" features all major religions, national holidays of UN members. Pursesized. \$1.00 per copy; 3 copies \$2.00; 10 copies \$5.00, or free copy with \$2.50 subscription to The Friendly World. Send check to Alice L. Wood, GPO Box 1004, Brooklyn, New York, 11201.

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The Nazi War Criminal Who Commands NATO

From Suite 3-E-180 in Washington

Not too often, a book is published which makes sudden and deep impact on our American way of life. Its truths startle readers and become the catalyst for national changes. In recent years Rachel Carson achieved this by exposing the indiscriminate use of insecticides. Jessica Mitford did the same for funeral practices of ludicrous and expensive proportions. Such a book is Charles R. Allen, Jr.'s *Heusinger of the Fourth Reich*.

Less than two decades separate us from the end of World War II and the subsequent Nuremberg trials in which hundreds of Nazis were convicted and punished for crimes against humanity. One of the war criminals was Adolph E. Heusinger, Chief of Operations and Planning of the German Army High Command (OKH), who directed all territorial forces of Hitler's *Wehrmacht*. He was not punished for his crimes, perhaps because he became a willing witness for the prosecution.

Yet, as commander of the OKH, he directed the extermination on the Eastern front of Jews, Gypsies, Soviet commissars, partisans, and others as impediments to the Nazi drive. The slaughter was carried out by special SS troops, hardened for the task, but on orders of the OKH, many of which Heusinger personally signed, although, like Hitler, the general killed no one himself.

Grotesquely, Adolph E. Heusinger who escaped punishment at the Nuremberg trials was appointed in April, 1961, as Chairman of NATO's Military Committee. The full significance of this appointment was not lost in European capitals where memories of Nazi jackboots and crematoriums are longer-lived than in Washington.

SEN. MORSE WARNS

The Heusinger name stirred many Americans to anger, like Senator Wayne Morse:

"... let the State Department thoroughly understand that I do not buy the argument that... we can justify putting a Nazi general in a NATO military position where he will have influence, authority and power in determining the combined military policy

to which the United States is a party. This Nazi general (Heusinger) unquestionably must bear his share of the responsibility for the deaths of thousands of American boys.... What about our memories? Are they that short?"

Heusinger operates today from luxurious Suite 3-E-180 in a wing of the Pentagon reserved for top brass. His rise from a Hitler intimate to a dominant position in NATO symbolizes the reemergence of the German General Staff heading a remilitarized Germany as the strongest power in Western Europe. Further, Heusinger symbolizes the myth spread by the State Department that the German General Staff is cleansed of its Nazis.

EISENHOWER WARNED

Ignored is the prophetic and knowledgeable warning by General of the Armies, Dwight D. Eisenhower, that "the German General Staff itself must be utterly destroyed."

Ignored is the current warning by Brigadier General (Retired) Hugh B. Hester that unless the Nazi-commanded military buildup in Germany is stopped—and soon—"nothing can save us from the war now being prepared by Heuseinger of the Fourth Reich."

Charles R. Allen, Jr., who served with U.S. Army Intelligence and with

the Advisory Group to the American delegation of the US-USSR Joint Commission for the Unification of Korea, again serves the American public with an abundantly documented study of the role played by Heusinger and other Nazi-oriented Generals during the war and in the postwar remilitarization of Germany.

WARNING AND PRAISE

Says *The Churchman*, "This is no ordinary book.... We owe Mr. Allen a deep debt for having exposed this monstrous conspiracy...."

An early review in *The New York Times* found "much raw material here worth pondering." A review in *The Nation* notes that "much of [the material] borders on the incredible."

D. F. Fleming, distinguished author of the 2-volume *Origins of the Cold War*, writes, "It is a much needed study, done brilliantly, and I certainly expect to use it in my future writings."

No American can consider himself politically knowledgeable unless he knows the factual information, painstakingly gathered over many years, in *Heusinger of the Fourth Reich*.

You are urged to weigh the startling and damning evidence for yourself. Obtain your copy now.

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS by T. H. Tetens, published in hardcover by Random House, and widely acclaimed, is now available in paperback. The *Christian Herald* found it a "terrifying" book whose "pages are filled with shocking accounts of how Nazis—even Hitler's own—have managed to return to power in almost every walk of German life, including the foreign office, the courts and the police." *The New York Times* review came to the same "inescapable conclusion that the Nazis have had a quiet comeback almost everywhere." These two books give a definitive picture of a re-Nazified Germany which is creating awesome problems for Europe and the world. They are must reading for every intelligent American.

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(b)(6)

February 9, 1965

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, District of Columbia

To whom it may concern:

I am sending this letter to see if it is possible to receive information on the communist movement in the United States. I would like this information to use in a report on the above said subject. I would also like this information to widen my own knowledge on this harmful happening. If it is at all possible I would appreciate it if you would send it.

Some information on a radio program called "Life Line" would also be very well received. This information is requested because my world culture teacher and I were wondering who is backing this organization so we wouldn't get hold of any poor information on the sticky subject of communism.

Sincerely yours,

62-108867-6

FEB 15 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

February 12, 1965

REC-15 62-108867-6

JBW

5-2

[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

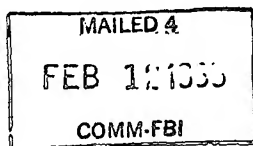
Your letter of February 9th has been received.

In response to your inquiry regarding "Life Line," I would like to advise that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not furnish evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. I hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files concerning this program.

I am enclosing some material regarding communism. If you are not already familiar with them, you may wish to read my books entitled "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These books were written to help readers gain an insight into the strategy and tactics of communists, both in this country and abroad. They may be available at your school or local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (5)

America--Soviet Espionage Target #1
Young People Can Help Defeat Communism
Communist Party, USA
LEB Introduction, 3-60

An Analysis of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA
What Young People Should Know About Communism

(3)

See Note on Next Page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
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FEB 23 1965 TELETYPE UNIT

(b)(6)

[REDACTED]

NOTE: We have received numerous citizen inquiries as Life Line which is sponsored by Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt. During the 1960 Presidential campaign an employee of Hunt was identified as the individual who paid a publishing firm for printing anonymous anti-Catholic, anti-Kennedy material which was mailed from Great Neck, New York, and which did not contain information identifying itself. Our report was furnished to the Department.

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

September 22, 1965

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. DeLoach ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
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Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing material regarding DISTRICT SPEAKERS which encourages youth to contribute their talents for good and combats delinquency. This program follows some ideas you yourself have expressed along the lines of defeating juvenile delinquency. The canary colored sheet is being rewritten and expanded to about twice its present content. You will note the Advisory Board has men of prominence from different walks of life.

We need two young men of great eloquence, one who could run the office and the other travel, to arrange for a committeeman in each Congressional District.

If some of the FBI Agents knew of our need for these young orators, it could serve DISTRICT SPEAKERS and the young men a mutual good service.

I do not ask for your endorsement in any way of DISTRICT SPEAKERS, but hope that you will find it meritorious.

Best wishes ...

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

H. L. Hunt

hlh/sf

Enclosures

(b)(6)

REC-22

EX 105

62-100167-7

SEP 23 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

EXP. PROC.
30 SEP 23 1965
16

PROGRESS REPORT, ~~DISTRICT SPEAKERS~~ RS

September 14, 1965

It is suggested that ~~DISTRICT SPEAKERS, INC.~~ should be commonly known as
"YOUTH SPEAKS."

1401 Elm St

Dallas Texas 75202

Formal announcement of the Advisory Committee, previously referred to as

"Executive" committee during organization has been made by H. L. Hunt, President of the Board of Directors of DISTRICT SPEAKERS, INC. Advisory Committee Members are:

General Robert E. Wood
925 South Homan Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

Former Chairman of the Board, Sears Roebuck Co.;
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Pat Boone
9033 Wilshire
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Singer and actor.

Jack Kemp
69 W. Mohawk
Buffalo, N. Y.

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associated with the Copley Press; addresses youth
groups in behalf of better government.

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Chicago, Ill.

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serving on President Johnson's Advisory Committee
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E. D. Rivers
1448 N. W. 36th St.
Miami, Fla.

Former Governor of Georgia

General A. C. Wedemeyer
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General, USA (Ret.)

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Chicago, Ill.

Noted cancer authority; founder and Director
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Frank M. McHale
Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
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former Commander, Indiana Department, American
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H. L. Hunt
1401 Elm
Dallas, Texas

Oil and Gas Production and H L H Products (Food and Drug)

ENCLOSURE

62-108867-7

We were greatly encouraged in receiving the following letter. We believe this gentleman can be most helpful to the cause in which he is interested if we do not disclose his name. Following are excerpts from his letter:

"Thank you for your kind letter of August 25 and the enclosures regarding DISTRICT SPEAKERS, which I have analyzed and endorse completely.

"As you may know, I am a college professor whose primary interests lie in the field of Communist semantics and political warfare practices. Especially during the past two years my spare time has been devoted to exposing and publicizing the duplicity and significance of the Communesese lingo. It is expected that the tempo will increase in the future....There is a strong possibility of my being adviser to a local chapter of Young Americans for Freedom which is being organized. These things in addition to my academic responsibilities.

"I believe that each individual serves best the cause of freedom in accordance with his interests, knowledge and capabilities.

"I should like to promote DISTRICT SPEAKERS in any way possible within the limitations imposed upon me by time, circumstances, and capabilities. It is proposed that this could be done initially by:

- (1) Assisting in publicizing the program in....
- (2) Serving as an assistant to the Committeeman and in other ways that would be possible.

"In re (1), given about 100 printed brochures, YOUTH CAN MOLD HISTORY, I would undertake to send copies to newspapers and possibly some radio stations, with an appropriate covering letter, to all...cities and towns in...with a population of 2,500 and more. This would be done at my expense and during the week beginning September 13, subject to your approval and the receipt of the brochures in time.

"In re (2), I would do what I could to get the program under way in this, the ...Congressional District."

DISTRICT SPEAKERS, INC., which is becoming known as "Youth Speaks", hopes that public-spirited citizens throughout the nation who are interested in youth and concerned for our nation's sovereignty will weigh carefully the program which the college professor has outlined for himself. We trust that "each individual serves best the cause of freedom in accordance with his interest, knowledge and capabilities," and will take an interest in promoting DISTRICT SPEAKERS in his or her state or in a group of half a dozen congressional districts in the more populous states.

Three and one-fourth minute addresses by very young speakers, leaving the station 1 1/2 minutes in a five-minute time segment, are now being aired over several large radio stations, thanks to the great interest which one or two fine citizens in each area are taking in getting these activities started.

H. L. Hunt

DISTRICT SPEAKERS - 1401 Elm Street, 27th Floor, Dallas 2, Texas

- ☐ If requested, I will serve as DISTRICT SPEAKERS Committeeman in my District.
- ☐ I will serve as an assistant to the DISTRICT SPEAKERS Committeeman.
- ☐ I will enlist and encourage young people to compete for awards.
- ☐ An entity with which I am connected will sponsor a girl and a boy as contestant speakers.
- ☐ I will ask other entities to sponsor contestants.
- ☐ I am sending the names of others who, I believe, will participate in their Congressional Districts as District Committeeman.

Name: _____

No. & Street _____

City, State _____

Ph: _____

If you prefer, write giving the capacity in which you would like to serve. _____

YOUTH SHOULD SPEAK PROMPTLY!

Freedom has the facts on its side and truth, frequently recited, will finally prevail. If young people will begin speaking in their Congressional District, contesting for awards, it will be far more educational than whatever will be voiced in political campaigns. Many youths speak well enough and should be presented now. The public is interested and awaits their message. They need not wait for training and each rendition is another practice session.

Listeners will want to hear local youths on the air. Radio and TV stations will find it profitable to air their brief talks because the commercial spots near the talks will be in great demand. Businesses connected in any way with DISTRICT SPEAKERS will benefit in public relations and increased sales. Freedom vs Slavery should be compared now. Facing the truth, the people will make the proper choice. Better government will be the end result.

There is a place for YOU in DISTRICT SPEAKERS and public affairs.

sums are being spent by the enemies of freedom to destroy liberty in all its essential forms.

DISTRICT SPEAKERS cannot match finances with the attempts being made on either side; but DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc. can be conducted in a way that it is largely self-financing. It is an ignoble thought that the American people must be bribed into doing battle in defense of their liberty.

DISTRICT SPEAKERS could sell at a profit books and pamphlets which would be devoted to instructions in speech and portrayal of the imminence of the Communist danger. They could also sell at a good profit tapes and disc platters voicing perfect examples of diction, delivery and addresses considered under varying conditions. Sales of tapes which illustrate and discuss common, usual blunders made during speeches could also be helpful. Transcripts of speeches of contestants will be offered. This material, if unusual in content, will be in great demand at rewarding prices.

Every opportunity is afforded the best-thinking people in a Congressional District to activate, encourage and financially back the youthful speakers.

In the patriotic atmosphere created by DISTRICT SPEAKERS as soon as orators show high ability to express themselves for freedom, they will be in great demand.

It may be expected that golden business opportunities will open and they will be in position to help finance some other person trying to learn to speak, rather than requiring financial assistance themselves.

The Districts will be divided into 5 Regions of approximately 88 Districts each for the purpose of holding Regional contests between all the award winners in the District contest. The first, second and third Regional award winners could compete with each other to decide the first, second and third National Winner. The contest should be held every two years during the off-year preceding each Congressional election. Award winning speakers shall be limited to two consecutive 2-year tenures.

DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc. will award each

first, second and third winning speakers a scroll carrying with it the prestige of District, Regional or National areas in which the awards are won. It is not contemplated that the female and male award winners compete with each other, although mixed competition is not precluded.

The District, Regional and National contests will unlimber countless reticent or silent tongues. The chosen Speakers will become an inspiration for thousands to train themselves to speak more effectively and develop talking points which, when well-delivered, will repel and roll back Communism.

If only 1/7th of 1% of the award winning speakers develop into potential immortals, THESE FOUR, with information and education commensurate with the atomic and space age, could equal or surpass the historic great who saved the nation from its peril in their time. Then Communism and all tyrannies would soon be eliminated from the world's plagues.

"DISTRICT SPEAKERS" will search the world, Liverpool if necessary, to assemble a superb entertainment team known as the "EAGLES FOUR" and sometimes as "FOUR FOR FREEDOM." They will travel and will close every personal appearance to instill a contagious crusade for Freedom. Contestants will be introduced at the "EAGLES FOUR" personal appearance in their District. The Team's movies and TV shows and Record Albums will close with the Freedom crusade. If needed, the "EAGLES FOUR" Team might earn enough revenue in one performance to finance the entire mammoth program of "DISTRICT SPEAKERS."

Preparing "LIBERTY-LIBS" is an ideal endeavor. Every man, woman, boy or girl and especially those who have never made a talk in their lives can prepare themselves to deliver a one-minute 140-word talk for Freedom which they may make or insert every time an occasion offers, and prepare themselves to force the occasion should "no one ask them to talk." The "LIBERTY-LIB" should be devoted to unusual and striking thoughts which will cause listeners to repeat some of the forceful words. The preparation of a one-minute talk may result in the

preparation of another until the speaker soon becomes known as a full-fledged orator.

If the public is ready for DISTRICT SPEAKERS, it will get off to a flying start and financing need not be a worrisome task nor a hazardous bridge that must be crossed at this time. If danger of failure appears or goals become remote, more elaborate planning and machinery will be required in financing DISTRICT SPEAKERS.

The present acceptance of DISTRICT SPEAKERS by people of great prominence is highly gratifying. The different volunteers to participate will attract an enthusiastic and loyal following from all walks of life.

Worthy citizens are requested to write DISTRICT SPEAKERS, 1401 Elm Street, Dallas 2, Texas, offering to participate in the capacity they prefer as follows:

If needed I will serve as DISTRICT SPEAKER Committeeman in my District. I will assist the District Committeeman. I am connected with an institution which will sponsor a girl or boy as contestant speaker. I will ask other entities to sponsor contestants. I am enclosing the names of those whom I believe will be glad to participate in their Congressional District.

Give your name, street and number, city and state. Add phone number if you wish.

Two young people of great eloquence are needed to act as National Directors. The winners of all awards will inspire vast numbers to activate a vast number to learn to speak and cause others to orate.

Constructively,

DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc.,

H. L. Hunt, President;

Robert H. Stewart III, Secy- Treasurer,
1401 Elm Street,
Dallas 2, Texas

August 24, 1965.

Make Available to News Media
Reproduce or order copies
\$1.00 per 100.

DISTRICT SPEAKERS (Sec. Ed.)

Youth Can Mold History

The spoken word delivered forcefully has done far more to mold history than the printed word, however profound. George Washington, Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln, brilliant speakers in their youth, made outstanding contributions to society. William Jennings Bryan's high oratorical talent rather than statesmanship resulted in his nomination for President three times.

Demagogues who orated frantically with simulated conviction ringing in their voices swayed masses always in the wrong direction to their doom. Castro, Eva Peron, Hitler and their like proved rabble-rousing the strongest weapon in destroying freedom.

History unfolds "youth must be served." For not, the enthusiastic buoyancy of youth achieves. Napoleon was commissioned at 16 and became a general at 24. William Franklin Graham was a lay preacher at 18, ordained at 21 and known as a great evangelist at 26 years of age.

America today must gain some greater force than it has yet marshaled in order to save its own liberty. Warmth of oratory combined with the exuberance of youth can serve us in this hour of need. If this great mission to find, develop and encourage outstanding patriotic speakers does not alone save liberty, it will not have been in vain; it will have led to the best way.

The enemies of freedom are nearly always prepared either to speak briefly or to make an impassioned address to advance their cause and crusade. Friends of freedom who are losing the battle can seldom speak with eloquence if at all. This deficiency must be overcome if those who love our country are to win and the nation survive.

Great speakers are trained, not born. Demosthenes, afflicted with an impediment, placed pebbles in his mouth and spoke for hours at a time against tyrants.

ing sea, to become the greatest speaker in history. Pat McCarran while herding sheep in Nevada addressed the rocks on distant hills and became one of the great of the U. S. Senate.

The Speaker Districts shall be composed of each of the 435 Congressional Districts plus two comprising the North half and the South half of the District of Columbia.

DISTRICT SPEAKERS is an incorporated, non-partisan, non-profit, educational organization, its primary purpose being to alert and activate those who can speak or learn to speak fluently in the cause of preserving the freedom and sovereignty of our nation.

Speech contests will be held in each District for the purpose of choosing a first, second and third award in the Girls' and Women's Division, and a first, second and third award in the Boys' and Men's Division. The age of the speakers must be less than 40 and preferably less than 25.

The youngest speakers could prove most effective in diverting youths from wasting their talents and time in delinquency, flirting with narcotics, shooting out lights, turning over cars and screaming for thrills. They could discourage youth from participating in demonstrations and the deadly riots which follow. Youth can be inspired to joyfully instill in others purpose and dedication. They need to no longer thrill to the rabble-rousing eloquence of Gus Hall and his trained Communist speakers sent to despoil them.

For years patriots have longed for the time when "youth will move," bringing into the battle its freshness, exuberance and ingenuity to save the free world. DISTRICT SPEAKERS is planned to spark "that movement."

The youngest speakers in starting could make talks encouraging Sunday School, Prayer Meetings and Church attendance and encouraging others to participate in wholesome endeavors. They could soon learn of the great danger to our nation in pornography, demoralizing movies and TV programs, profiteering from publicizing salaciousness and sadism, immoral publications, smut, debauch-

ery, liquor craziness and fooling with dope.

They can learn the more intricate problems in public affairs and how to properly deal with them. They will learn to make the contents of their addresses 70% or more positive in order to build and to be constructive; and not more than 30% outlining the problem and condemning the evils.

An Executive Committee of 11 is being formed to organize the District Speaker program. The Executive Committee shall select a Working Committee of Three composed of the Executive Committee members or others. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the actions of the Working Committee of Three.

The Executive Committee of 11 shall organize by telephone, telegraph or airmail, selecting a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary and Treasurer, as well as the Working Committee. The Chairman shall appoint replacements to fill all vacancies occurring in the Executive Committee, the Working Committee, and District Committeemen. Each Executive Committeeman shall select and be advised by one female and one male advisor, age 28 or less, who are closely attuned to the wishes and activities of youth.

The Executive Committee in appointing Committeemen for each District shall advise with patriotic organizations located in each District in selecting a committeeman for that District.

When District Committeemen have been formally appointed and are in service in 60 or more Districts, the Working Committee of Three shall send the District Committeemen a ballot listing the members of the Executive Committee of 11 available to continue, and 11 or more other potential candidates who have made known to the Committee of Three their willingness to serve on the Executive Committee. The District Committeemen shall vote the ballot by designating the names of 11 they favor for Executive Committeemen and return it to the Working Committee of Three by registered mail. The 11 receiving the highest vote will then be notified that they are the members of the current Executive Committee.

Thereafter the election for Executive Committee members shall be conducted the second Monday of May in each of the years immediately preceding the years of General Congressional Elections.

Different business firms, the American Legion, VFW, DAR, Optimist Clubs, Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, Jaycees or similar associations may each sponsor contestants. Each sponsor should hold preliminary speaking contests to determine which Speaker they would nominate in the District contest.

An organization in each District not sponsoring a candidate of its own should be designated to conduct the contests. The host organization would assume the duty of encouraging various other organizations to sponsor contestants and keep the publicity media informed of events. Contests might be held on a national holiday or in conjunction with picnics and other festivities where the contestants could address large crowds.

Contestants shall be judged on the basis of subject matter, delivery, platform composure and audience response. Candidates could prepare 12-minute tapes for radio and 3½-minute films for TV or the movie screen affording spots for commercial sponsorship and profitable presentation for radio, TV and theater participation. Candidates could thereby display their talents in vying for the public's favor.

The youthfulness and freshness of the contestants for DISTRICT SPEAKER awards will attract district-wide and in many cases nationwide publicity. The contest will develop into a display of high ability, fair play and constructive culture. The manner of handling the contest in any District may be different from that of other districts.

The speaking contests held prior to the granting of awards in each District may be evaluated by the Working Committee. The ten Districts staging the most sensational and constructive contest shall be selected for national recognition. The Working Committee should consider the number of contestants participating, the size of audiences and the extent of attention received.

The program schedules, conduct and procedures of the "Honorable Mention" districts should be furnished other districts to assist them in improving the staging of their contests.

The District Committeemen or Committeewomen shall appoint assistants and select one or more suitable judges for his district to decide the first, second and third award winners in that District. The District Committeemen, Assistants and Judges shall serve without remuneration and without reimbursement for expenses.

Girded with truths, facts and honest figures, not able by their absence among the opposition, DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc. should function courteously and constructively.

Special business groups or patriotic organizations may be formed to assist prospects in attaining wide publicity and later to assist in defraying the expenses of DISTRICT SPEAKERS who have been awarded the honor and prestige of representing their Congressional or D. C. District.

The headquarters for DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc. shall be established at Washington, D. C. or some central point with excellent air service such as Chicago, Illinois or Dallas, Texas.

Members of the Executive Committee and their friends and connections can be expected to defray the early expenses of a national headquarters.

The Executive Committee shall arrange to diplomatically terminate and replace District Committeemen who fail to function in the spirit of DISTRICT SPEAKERS, Inc. Awards to winning SPEAKERS may be withdrawn for activities which will bring discredit to the organization upon a vote of seven members of the Executive Committee.

DISTRICT SPEAKER Personnel and Participants shall take notice of all other essay and speaking contests under way and strive to supplement, encourage and more fully develop every freedom or liberty activity now under way or to be started later.

Vast fortunes are expended on projects in attempting to save liberty in the U. S. and much greater

September 24, 1965

REC-22
EX 105

62-108867-7

Mr. H. L. Hunt
1401 Elm Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Mr. Hunt:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of September 22nd with enclosures, and asked me to thank you for your kind wishes and for advising him about District Speakers.

In response to your request, Mr. Hoover asked me to explain that he knows of no one interested or available for the position you have in mind. Therefore, he is certain you will understand why he cannot be of assistance in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

1 - Dallas - Enclosures (4)

NOTE: H. L. Hunt is the controversial Texas oil millionaire who has fostered right-wing activity such as "Facts Forum" and others which have come to the Bureau's attention in the past. He was last written on 8-1-63 over Miss Gandy's signature in view of the controversial nature of his views and programs. (62-108867)

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 7/11/75
Per FOIA Request

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

February 27, 1968

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	2
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Last Sunday, February 25, I went to the Polk Street Baptist Church, 3410 Polk Street, in Oak Cliff, a Dallas, Texas suburb. Terminating the 11:00 a.m. service, Reverend Fred Moseley, the pastor of the church, spoke eloquently of the Communist menace and its danger to churches. Seldom have I heard a more effective speaker, and every time he made a vital point his remark was greeted with a chorus of "Amens". I have never attended a finer or more constructive church service, and it gave me this idea.

If a great many churches with a clergyman and a congregation with this intensely patriotic nature, regardless of the denomination, could be listed, LIFE LINE has a donor who would present the pastor with gift subscriptions to the once a week mailing of seven broadcasts of the week, totaling seven pieces, including one fine sermon, containing about 14,000 words in the seven pieces.

Needless to say, other donors would present these pastors or the senior deacon with subscriptions to other anti-Communist publications, pro-Freedom articles, governmental documents and books.

By my actual observation I am quite sure the churches, cathedrals, synagogues, conducting pro-Freedom services would attract much larger congregations than average and perhaps five times as many new members as the average.

If you have associations, affiliations, or friends who can furnish me a list of the name, address, and name of the pastor or senior deacons of these patriotic institutions, I hope you can cause the list to be sent to me. A few hundred churches profiting from patriotism could start a crusade.

Deleted Copy Sent Philip J. Hirsch
by Letter 7/11/75
Per FOIA Request mnts

With best wishes,

101
Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

REC-1

6 MAR 8 1968

HLH:jp
encls.

FEB-28-1968

ENCLOSURE

[Redacted]

3-1-68

no ack

(b)(6)

H. L. Hunt

62-108867-8

TO BUILD A STRONGER CHURCH

We earnestly believe freedom and free agency should be preached from every pulpit in this great Christian land. We not only believe this is the right thing to preach, but that this is the message the great majority of Christian congregations want to hear.

Most Christian people are getting tired of hearing their ministers preach "the social Gospel" theme - - a little left of center. They know that the greatest battle of our time is freedom vs. slavery -- Christianity vs. Anti-Christ -- and this is what they not only should hear ... but this is what they want to hear.

Obviously, the primary purpose of religious services is to save souls. A strong stand against atheism is a part of this spiritual process. The leading and most successful exponent of atheism in the world today is Communism, with its corrupting tentacles extending across the entire face of the earth. The opposite of Communism is freedom. This is why the freedom message is so important to a successful ministry today. People will respond because liberty is a captivating and magnificent idea. When ministers include a message for freedom and against crime in their sermons, more and more people will be interested in religious activities and, as a result, the Church will grow.

Churches without tolerance for flirtation with Communism are experiencing a great growth. As more Christians become better informed, they become disenchanted with deceitful propaganda, recognizing atheism for the evil it is. Pro-freedom activities underway in churches heighten their appeal.

Christianity vs. Communism is not a controversial subject to be avoided; it is a struggle about which people want to hear and learn more. Ministers may sometimes say a few words against godless communism in their opening remarks, arousing the interest of their listeners and assuring closer attention to what they subsequently say. Following criticizing atheism or a freedom message, the minister's sermon may be directed in any course he desires consistent with what he has already said about the Communist evil, atheism, delinquency and crime.

The enemies of God, the Bible and Christianity are working diligently to accomplish their goal of destroying Christian influence throughout the world. Prayer can give us strength in the struggle with these satanic foes of religion; but as an expression of faith, prayer should be backed up by dedicated Christian action.

Ministers may be most effective by proceeding simultaneously against Communism, crime, delinquency and sin -- and, as a result, reap wonderful rewards as his congregation grows from week to week in numbers and in strength.

As one great religious leader stated, "No greater immediate responsibility rests upon members of the Church, upon all citizens of this Republic and neighboring Republics than to protect the freedom vouchsafed by the Constitution of the United States."

62-108767-8
ENCLOSURE

TO: PATRIOTS FORMING TEAMS (SIX WHO WILL HELP SAVE REPUBLIC) 3A

Youth Freedom Speakers are becoming a constructive force in these perilous times. This movement may become world-wide nearly as soon as it becomes nation-wide. Fifteen to twenty-three year old youths have prepared themselves to make three minute speeches when invited to service groups, prayer meetings, and other gatherings. Whenever these youths speak, their messages have many times the impact they would have if delivered by speakers who were ten years older. It has been proven that YFS cannot be successfully attacked. The youngsters are sometimes discouraged by adults who would prefer they spend their time and talents elsewhere than in speaking.

The communist and socialist advocates, equally atheistic, have delivered to business management a deceptive line for 35 years which management believes because they have not been told nor shown it to be false. They are convinced that they must soothe the socialists and caress the communists, if they wish to prosper. Management has been led to believe that any display of patriotism will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers.

More than 85% of the people oppose communism, but those who permit their attitudes to be known will be branded by the enemy with an "image" of being devisive, paranoid patriots, dangerous right-wing extremists and as doing more harm than any communist or communist front in the Nation. We neglect to take the time to prove to them that patriotism is profitable.

To correct this faulty impression, a Patriot should enlist 5 others, to form a TEAM OF SIX to phone or write their stations commending them for airing YFS. The Freedom TEAM OF SIX could organize, with each member agreeing to devote 20 minutes per week to the freedom cause; one member to give 20 minutes on Monday to phoning and writing TV and radio stations; another on Tuesday, one Wednesday, one Thursday, one Friday and one Saturday, commending them for giving the truth-side a break. Each member should choose and ask an alternate to act for him when absent.

Never would a week pass without the communication media learning that YFS is appreciated by the great American public. The same member for that day may signify his appreciation of Patriots by phoning patriotic advertisers, or better yet, the team member for that day phoning two or more acquaintances, asking them to avail themselves of the goods and services which the advertisers offer. One hundred TEAMS OF SIX in a city could keep YFS before the public, delivering patriotic messages. A member of the TEAMS OF SIX can cause a few friends to call members of the Board of YFS, counselors, and speakers, commending them for their activities.

If Wednesday is the day a member pledges to give 20 minutes to the cause which his team is advancing, 20 minutes per week would seem to be a very small movement; but it is highly important in that it is organized. Each team delivering 20 minutes per weekday is yielding 120 minutes per week, amounting to 2 hours per week. A thousand of these easily organized teams will deliver 2,000 hours per week in the battle for freedom and ten thousand teams will deliver 20,000 hours per week, a volume of activity which could be the deciding factor regarding an issue in a large city or several smaller cities in a community. A member of one team may become a member of other teams, but should not serve on more than six teams at the same time.

A TEAM OF SIX could, by a vote of 2/3 of its members, become active on any definitely patriotic project. The TEAMS OF SIX would no doubt wish to form a committee of well-trained patriots empowered to decide which projects were worthy and which were trivial. The committee would serve the purpose of keeping the TEAM OF SIX from scattering efforts among minor goals.

The enemies of Freedom always keep well organized and hence, effective. It is easy for them to do, for they prefer regimentation. Patriots pride themselves on individual initiative, deplore regimentation and are far less effective in public affairs and the advancement of their cause.

Patriots are beginning to feel that if they can save our Republic during the next five years it will survive during the foreseeable future. The vast majority who love our Republic are not going to give up and want to use their individual and collective ingenuity in trying every conceivable measure which through honest intent and good effort could finally turn the tide.

Constructively, H. L. Hunt

Group Gives Positive Side of Youth

POSITIVE action to combat the negative reputation 2 per cent of today's youth gives to the whole is the goal of a new organization seeking to found a chapter here.

The Youth Freedom Speakers (Y. F. S.) is a national organization with headquarters in Dallas, Tex. It was founded by a group of businessmen who wanted to hear what the other 98 per cent of the young generation had to say about such topics as Americanism and Christianity.

Two Founders Here

Robert Hood Cheney, III, 20 years old, and Miss June E. Maynard, 18 years old, are two founding members from Dallas in the organization effort here this weekend.

"All this adverse publicity is giving teen-agers a bad name," Miss Maynard said yesterday. "The majority are actually level-headed and responsible. We want to put them before the public," she said.

The youths speakers, between 15 and 23 years old, prepare talks on subjects of their own choosing and deliver them to civic clubs, church groups and other organizations. It is nonpartisan and nonsectarian although it is pro-American, pro-Christian and anti-Communist, they said.

"The way-out characters eliminate themselves because we speak in favor of the principals upon which our country was founded rather than in protest," she said.

Look for Counselors

Cheney and Miss Maynard are searching for adults who might act as counselors to the young members that might be recruited here.

It will be the counselors' function to screen and accept volunteer speakers and assist them in preparing themselves to speak effectively. They will also work to schedule the short talks (usually three minutes) to be delivered at group meetings.

Lamar Hunt, owner of the Kansas City Chiefs, and his father, H. L. Hunt, are two Dallas backers of the movement. Cheney and Miss Maynard can be reached through the Kansas City Chiefs Football club, 5605 East Sixty-third street trafficway, care of Miss Jerre Ann Sprague.



EXAMINING. A. BROCHURE on the Youth Freedom Speakers are two visitors from Dallas, Tex., Robert Hood Cheney III, 20 years old, and Miss June E. Maynard, 18 years old, who hope to found a chapter of the patriotic organization here.

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YOUTH FREEDOM SPEAKERS

DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

62-107867-8

YOUTH FREEDOM SPEAKERS present a new and fresh opportunity for the truth side to win, not just a skirmish but a showdown fight for liberty. The truth side needs a victory to sustain morale; and these inspiring young people with their message of "can do" for freedom are opening up new vistas of victory to freedomists who have lost one fight after another to the enemy.

The ineptness of their elders do not characterize this new generation of freedomist: the young activists who comprise YOUTH FREEDOM SPEAKERS. They are a bright, happy, self-assured group of young Americans, with a ringing message to convey and an evangelistic fervor for the freedom of thought and spirit and movement and endeavor that this Republic affords them.

Their speeches are impressive, effective and they have the infectious enthusiasm of youth going for them. A resounding freedom speech given by a 17 year old speaker has many times the effectiveness of the same speech if it is delivered by a 37-year old. This is an irrefutable fact of public appeal!

With a brisk, breezy efficiency they go about their business of reminding apathetic Americans of the fragile nature of freedom, the unavailing efforts of those who have lost it never to regain it, and the enormous sacrifices of those who cherish freedom and are called upon to defend it.

Being non-sectarian and non-partisan, the appeal, vigor and determination of youth will raise the banner of liberty to its former glory. A thousand young people from 15 to 23 years of age making 3-minute speeches for freedom to Churches, service clubs and others will revive the flagging spirits of freedomists everywhere and have a rejuvenating effect on inactive or dormant patriots. Numbering 10,000 they smash the ever increasing wave of crime. 100,000 can stem the tide of atheism's assault on the Church and cause Communism to collapse

August 29, 1966

From Friendship Press

Strange Lessons for Little Johnny

By MIKE ENGLEMAN
Editorial Staff Writer

DID YOUR 13-year-old attend vacation church school this summer? If he did, it might be a good idea to sit down with him and find out just exactly what he learned. For if your church followed the curriculum offered by a New York outfit that calls itself "Friendship Press," and if little Johnny paid attention in class, by now he may be confused.

"Mission: The Christian's Calling" is a packet of two books designed as a course of study for junior high school "early teens" in vacation church school, Sunday school or Sunday night fellowship groups. It has found its way into several churches of the Dallas area.

THE APPARENT theme of the two books is worthy enough. The books say to the youngster: "It is the duty of Christians from all faiths to put their belief into action in the world." There's certainly nothing new about this teaching.

But running through the two books are several strange subtleties that must make Johnny, who is impressionable at age 15, question the wisdom of his parents.

If Johnny has been taught to obey the law and the police, he must wonder after reading one of the books, "Called to Be," why the brutal police deserve any respect. "Called to Be" mentions police at least five times, and in each instance they are the "bad guys."

Listen as the book describes those first days after Christ's crucifixion in news story style: "Gov. Pilate today asked the FBI to keep the disciples of Jesus under close surveillance. It is feared that the 11 might seek to continue his seditious activities . . ."

OR IN RELATING the duty of the Christian in these modern days, here's one instance of how the book pictures police and the law: ". . . numerous Christians are being arrested during these days for challenging customs and laws they hold to be wrong. Many have been attacked by fire hoses and police dogs . . ."

The books tell a horrible story of 23 peace marchers' maltreatment by police, claiming to be quoting directly from a "news report." In the guide book for the adult that will be teaching the class, it is revealed that the story comes not from a

reliable news source at all, but instead from "an actual account printed in a civil-rights magazine . . ."

The story graphically relates how the "Walk for Peace" marchers are arrested.

"Jack stopped, and a plainclothesman put his hand on Jack's arm saying, 'You're under arrest; get in the bus.' Jack sat down in noncooperation and said, 'I have nothing against you personally but I cannot cooperate with this arrest.' The officer . . . said, 'Bring the electric prod over here.'"

After telling how the prod was used on Michele's (a girl) "legs and thighs," the author of "Called to Be," Theodore A. Braun, writes: "Police brutality is a problem in all parts of our country—South and North, East and West—especially toward minority groups."

Then Braun asks, "Does a person ever have the right to put his own conscience above the law? What if he believes a law to be wrong? Should he in all cases obey that law, or can he refuse to obey, accepting the consequences, being obedient to a higher (and in his own mind, better) law?"

What will be a 15-year-old's answer to these carefully posed questions?

BRAUN GUARANTEES the student's answer with his story about Christ in the temple after first asking another question: "Is it true that 'angry young men' such as Jesus are not tolerated by society very long—they are either tamed, ostracized or crucified?"

After describing Christ's acts in ridding the temple of the money changers and animal salesmen "like a bull let loose in a china shop," Braun puts forth these questions:

"How do you react to the story of the temple cleansing? Should Jesus have first written a letter to the superintendent of the temple grounds or to the editor of the city newspaper? Should he have picketed the temple merchants, conducted a temple sit-in or organized a march on the temple? Or do you agree with his taking the matter into his own hands and acting as he did?"

The remainder of this section admonishes Johnny to "help overturn all the tables that need turning in the sacrosanct temples of society. Is there a need for revolution in your own community?"

What will a child make out of this call to revolution?

How will he react to the totally black picture painted of police and the law? Will he believe all police are animals?

Will he accept Braun's word that Christ was a "revolutionary"?

Will he understand that Christ had the power to overturn kings, to reorganize gov-

ernment and society, but did not use it? From what he reads in this book, can he be expected to see that Christ could have been a social reformer or a Martin Luther King, but was not? Does he know that Christ could have ended the endless brutality of the Roman Empire, but chose not to?

Can little Johnny be expected to understand that Christ was most interested in another kind of kingdom, that He offered not salvation from earthly poverty and strife, but eternal peace in a life after death?

THE FOREGOING has been just a taste of "Mission: The Christian's Calling" and the Friendship Press. But it should be enough of a warning to Johnny's parents that they should examine the teaching materials being used in their church.

Friendship Press publishes a great number of teaching materials for churches and is a rather popular source of literature for some Protestant denominations.

Listed discreetly on the last page of Friendship Press' catalogue is the publishing house's address: 475 Riverside Drive, New York. Oddly enough, the same address is carried on the literature of another Protestant organization—the National Council of Churches.

Lessons for Johnny

To The Dallas News:

I have read Mike Engleman's article, "Strange Lessons for Little Johnny," and want to thank you for informing the people what is going on in the name of Christianity.

MRS. ALVIN W. HAEDGE.

1103 N. Edgefield, Dallas.

Fortunately, Letter-to-Editor writers can "manage" their part of the news which they create.

Communism

To The Dallas News:

The denunciation by national magazines, TV commentators and others toward the people in our country who are trying to awaken us to the menace of communism is a puzzle. Sometimes it seems that members of the communication media want good Americans to be regarded as a worse enemy than the Communists who have sworn to bury us.

It does not make sense that loyal supporters of our country and that enthusiastic defenders of the free way of life that made us great could be a danger to us. Patriotic Americans are a great source of strength in these perilous times.

DICK WHITTINGTON.

Shreveport, La.

TO BUILD A STRONGER CHURCH

When a harvest of souls is underway, larger and more responsive audiences are attracted to every meeting. One repentance leads to another in a kind of spiritual chain-reaction. When the proper atmosphere has been attained and prevails, each and every church service can become a revival.

The minister creating this atmosphere richly deserves the larger audiences which will accrue. The ways to develop such an atmosphere have been proven, and the activities that start a church moving will cause it to grow and prosper spiritually. The growing congregation is a reward to the minister, enabling him to plan and install improved buildings and facilities for his church plant.

The primary purpose of religious services is to save souls. A strong stand against atheism is a part of this spiritual process, for faith is the means of salvation. The leading and most successful exponent of atheism in the world today is Communism, with its corrupting tentacles extending across the entire face of the earth. The opposite of Communism is freedom. This is why the freedom message is so important to a successful ministry today. People will respond because liberty is a captivating and magnificent idea. When ministers include a message for freedom and against crime in their sermons, more and more people will accept the invitation and be interested in religious activities.

In a meeting at Greenville, Texas, responses were averaging about ten per service. One night, near the end of the revival, the evangelist delivered a sermon containing a fine freedom message, and 131 persons were deeply moved to repent and came forward, even though he did not extend the freedom message to become a part of the invitation.

Churches without tolerance for flirtation with Communism are experiencing great growth. As more Christians become better informed, they become disenchanted with deceitful propaganda, recognizing atheism for the evil it is. Pro-freedom activities underway in churches heighten their appeal.

Christianity vs. Communism is not a controversial subject to be avoided; it is a struggle about which people want to hear and learn more. Ministers may sometimes say a few words against godless communism in their opening remarks, arousing the interest of their listeners and assuring closer attention to what they subsequently say.

Following criticizing atheism or a freedom message, the minister's sermon may be directed in any course he desires consistent with what he has already said about the Communist evil, atheism, delinquency and crime. It will be reflected in a greater response to his invitation if he includes a message of Christian liberty. The minister may urge his listeners to join with him and with each other in the noble crusade to defeat atheism, immorality and crime. This may be the additional encouragement needed by many to respond.

The enemies of God, the Bible and Christianity are working diligently to accomplish their goal of destroying Christian influence throughout the world. Prayer can give us strength in the struggle with these satanic foes of religion; but as an expression of faith, prayer should be backed up by dedicated Christian action. The evangelist may be most effective by proceeding simultaneously against communism, crime, delinquency and sin. He is sure to reap magnificent rewards as the congregation grows from week to week, expanding his personal influence for the cause of Jesus with every addition.

Observation discloses that a minister who condemns communism while preaching against sin gains two or more members for every one he would have otherwise gained.

Feel free to reproduce or rewrite this article.

C. L. KAY

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

March 1, 1968

Mr. H. L. Hunt
1401 Elm Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Dear Mr. Hunt:

I have received your letter of February 27th, with enclosures, and very much appreciate your interest in writing.

While I would like to be of assistance, this Bureau does not have a list such as you mentioned, and no other source comes to mind where you might obtain it.

Sincerely yours,

no answer
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File

We who have opposed communism are not outnumbered but those who dislike us keep better organized. Patriots who are not ashamed to be called patriots are needed to organize against communism.

Among our population of 201 million, Gus Hall claims only 12,000 hardcore communists, and J. Edgar Hoover subscribes to that number of the hardcore. Both say there are more than 100,000 who think much like the hardcore.

Using these figures, we the noncommunists have the enemy outnumbered 16,600 to 1. We are not outnumbered, we are not surrounded, and with a little ingenuity, we are sure to win. If we can win at this time, the existence of our Republic is good for the foreseeable future. In addition to the hardcore enemy, there are other forces dedicated to destroy Republic U.S.A. We should not ignore the dupes and stooges but should convert some of them for they are eager "to take a side". They are not afflicted with apathy, a form of ignorance. They are people who want to "get in on the act," even if on the wrong side.

When we convert some of them, we have converts in our ranks and converts are known to develop superior dedication. If dupes and stooges, after they are converted, will take part on the Freedom side, they may excel those who have always been on the right side.

Business management has been constantly fed a "line" for 35 years until they believe the socialistic lies. Ninety percent of them believe the line "We must not make any display of love of country. If we do, it will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers."

Many Freedom people make the mistake of devoting their time to telling each other how bad our situation is. If they will spend their vital time in planning crusades, large or small, to defeat the enemy, they will win.

In crusading, they can organize a little, even about such simple activities as writing truthside letters to the editor. Fellowship promotes and engenders positive forces and accomplishments. Patriots may take a lesson from the enemy but regiment

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willingly and therefore become highly effective.

Public opinion is a powerful weapon in our personal enterprise system. Purchasing power and public opinion are related. Perhaps purchasing power can control public opinion. The consuming public should direct purchasing power. Consumers can control purchasing power with their patronage. The communication media will respond to the desires of the consumer. The public gets whatever it wants. The communication media will supply the public truthful news or deceitful propaganda. It is a matter of the public having what it wants. It can have entertainment which is clean, wholesome, educational, or it can require entertainment which is "not suitable for young people."

The public can have the government of a great republic, or if it chooses, it can drift into a dictatorship which must inevitably become the rule of the elite in socialism and in communism. Our Republic can have peace and stay out of wars nearly always, but if forced into armed conflict, it can win the war or have our freedom sold out by diplomats who always manage to lose for the Freedom side.

The hundreds of millions who love our country can form a habit of saying the right things in writing, speeches, or enjoyable conversation.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

January 7, 1969

The attached paperback book,
"Alpaca Revisited," by H. L. Hunt,
was sent to the Director from the
author, 1401 Elm Street, Dallas,
Texas 75202. Also enclosed
was a "Holiday Greeting" card.

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ALPACA

REVISITED

H. L. HUNT

ALPACA REVISITED

By H. L. HUNT

H. L. PRODUCTS

Dallas, Texas 75202, U.S.A.

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Chapter 1

JUAN ACHALA BEGINS A SEARCH

JUAN ACHALA was leaving home—leaving the land of his birth, and although he had some knowledge of the outside world and liked to think of himself as sophisticated, Alpaca was the only home he had ever known. He gazed with feeling at the receding shoreline of the country from which he was fleeing. His departure from Alpaca was in the nature of an exile, although it was really self-imposed. He was leaving behind him in the little six-province nation an evil spectre of dictatorship. He loathed the present dictator and his rule, just as he had loathed the preceding “strong man” usurpers who had followed one another in Alpaca in agonizing, rapid succession. From the stern rail of the well-appointed ship, he looked back in deep reflection. He wanted to get as far away as possible from the chatter of fellow passengers. He needed time to think. Always he pondered the troubled past and inscrutable future of his unhappy country, where peace had seldom been known.

Moreover, he felt a strong and driving conviction that he must not only think about lasting peace but

that he must do everything to attain it. What Alpaca needed was a new political plan and a new purpose, but in the agonized urgency of the day-to-day crises, no one had seemed to have the perspective and the long view to find a way out. Perhaps it was bold of him to believe that he could succeed where others had failed, but he was resolved to make the attempt.

He had made up his mind that he would go out into the world centers of thought and culture and seek a cure for Alpaca's political plight.

He planned to visit Paris, Jerusalem, Geneva, Roma, Athens and other historic seats of European culture. In these centers, he would talk with thoughtful men who had studied the problems of government, both past and present, and he would get their viewpoints. He would not confine himself to scholars, but would talk with students, merchants and people in all walks of life, and endeavor to learn their thoughts and reactions to his opinions. He was searching for the truths that would enable him to conceive an effective plan which would make dictatorship outmoded and, in fact, impossible in Alpaca. He knew that dictatorships, wherever set up, offer no future for any country nor even for themselves. Dictators, whether benevolent or evil, have no feasible plan for their peaceful succession. They are a fearsome juggernaut of force which has no place and is going nowhere in the field of a better world. He knew that all of them, including the greatest, at their end had become a deep and dark travesty racked by the fierce struggle for power which must follow in their wake.

Much family discussion had preceded his departure, taken without the fanfare which would have come with public announcement. Finances were ample for carefully planned expenditures. In his mind was the intriguing thought that his research might result in a definite plan for his country which would replace the intolerable dictatorship with a workable, balanced and efficient form of government, suited to the needs and temperament of the Alpacan people. It was an ambitious thought, but he was determined to pursue it with the best efforts at his command.

Ruby and opal lights from the sunset quivered on wind-vexed waves, gilding the distant roofs and towers, pointing up the green of trees and terraces, casting purple shadows against walls creamy white and pastel hued. Far inland he could still pick out those familiar mountain retreats where he had passed many hours respectfully listening to the eldest and wisest. They had talked always of the power and ways of government, contrasting and comparing the experiences of tribes, monarchies, democracies, republics and dictatorships with one another, and those of the dead past with those of the vibrant present. Such was the consuming interest, almost the obsession, of the Achalas of Alpaca and their close-knit circle.

Juan had absorbed their beliefs and misgivings from his earliest years. It was as natural for him to join in these political discussions as it was to bathe in the icy mountain streams or to swim in the warm surf or to ride the high-spirited horses for which Al-

paca was renowned. Although he enjoyed the company of thinkers and sages, he could also be at home with the lonely shepherds while he hunted wild game, or when in the small cities, relaxed with his kind in sports and dances which marked the forgetting of care.

Upon one thing there was general agreement among his mentors. They believed that wise, fair government for the people, with prudent use of the natural resources allocated to mankind by a kindly Providence, was the supreme responsibility of thinking minds and willing hands.

Juan's marked aptitude was quickly noted and encouraged. His youthful enthusiasm and splendid caution were counted a bright hope for his country's future. There had been times in the past when Alpaca had been nominally free with an uneasy kind of freedom but lasting peace had always been elusive and a phantom goal.

He leaned against the rail and thought unhappily: Would it have been better had he insisted on remaining in Alpaca at this crucial period in his country's history? If he had, he might have incurred only minor personal inconveniences and indignities, yet who could tell? Such a course, he told himself, would have been a poor substitute for the mission which had become a burning cause in his life. He was familiar with conventional weapons and could handle them well, but none thought the situation could be saved by violence. He felt that his parents, at robust middle age, were mutually self-sufficient, hence would not miss him unduly; and they were under no

more than the usual stress and strain of life in Alpaca. It had been agreed that they would keep him informed of happenings and, should need arise, he could quickly return.

Having abruptly severed home ties, Juan felt a deep longing for the irrecoverable past. Several passengers were eyeing him with unconcealed curiosity. A quick glance revealed all were unknown to him. What he did not realize was that his proud athletic bearing, his air of inborn courtesy unmarred by hauteur, his flashing eyes beneath shapely brows, and his magnificent even white teeth, accenting a ready smile, exerted a magnetic attraction even upon strangers. Perhaps he was to become more aware of his innate persuasiveness and power, as he voyaged far to encounter people and conditions, new and exciting.

That destiny can play amazing tricks, he knew. He had burning convictions but there were few in Alpaca, he told himself, who could agree with him. That there might be more than a few beckoning in the wide world was his fond hope. He felt a deep yearning to find one, only one, truly sympathetic soul preferably of his age and station. Would he ever find that one? He had warm friends, but had they ever fully understood the dire need for a better life in Alpaca? And if they did, would they stand with him or would they soon lose heart, relapse into easy leisure, and succumb to blandishments?

The young men he knew best tended to be more opinionated than profound; energetic, never idle, but always working, playing or fighting with equal aban-

don. They were immature, emotional and lovable, often gay, more often sad, without quite knowing why. Their faces passed before him in a montage of favorable and faulty traits. None of them seemed to fit into the time and place his imagination had carved. As for girls, he had found them congenial companions for his lighter hours—gay and friendly, nothing more; lovely today, forgotten tomorrow.

Juan assumed that Alpacans were typical of people generally throughout the world. He did not feel provincial, although he was as yet untraveled and untouched by great world events, but he had a never-ending feeling that government and public affairs as he had known them were needlessly bad and somehow, sometime, there must be better days ahead for Alpaca. But first . . . there must be Peace! Nearly everyone wanted peace. He believed people could attain peace if they were permitted to govern themselves.

Juan had an uncanny grasp of nearly all that went on around him; what he could not see or hear, he sensed. He was even more intuitive than women are thought to be. However, he did not trust his intuition very far. He was more logical than mystic, utterly realistic; imaginative, yet down to earth. He longed to be fully competent, ready to meet any emergency. His tutors liked him and had termed him superior. He had read widely, knew history written and traditional. He excelled in languages, geometry and logic; had a bowing acquaintance with abstract philosophy; was receptive to new ideas but required they stand up under penetrating analysis.

He now entertained no premonition of troubles or perplexities he might encounter in his travels. He would meet the problems as they arose.

When he tried to review his beliefs, Juan had to recognize that they were hard to analyze and classify. Perhaps that was why older men, who frankly expected much from him in the future, had urged this trip. Although by nature joyous, he at times felt turmoil, dissatisfaction and uncertainty within himself. He believed strongly in achievement by individual man, of his own potential, before mass man could hope to establish Liberty, Justice, and Peace.

In the deepening dusk he suddenly decided this was a good time to take a brisk walk on deck and breathe deeply of the sea air. Air was free and epitomized a spirit of freedom and peace which had come to mean everything to Juan. Not many people were about. After a few turns he paused at the rail.

With the resilience of youth, he could breathe in the starlit beauty of the sea and enjoy the breeze which now had freshened. All at once he was aware of a presence. A girl was standing not far away but he, preoccupied, paid little attention. Vaguely conscious of soft footsteps, he was slightly startled when she said "Achala?" It was as if she asked a question. Her voice was caressing, with rich overtones. In the dim light, her white dress gleamed. With queenly gesture she drew a lacy scarf closer around her shoulders. He said very formally:

"I am happy to admit that I am of the Achala family"—and waited for her to tell who she was but she did not supply the name of her clan.

"Alpaca is my home too," she remarked, "although I am seldom there." Her voice had that tantalizing warm quality, with the sweetness of a Strad in the hands of a master. She added casually: "They call me Mara."

"An expatriate?" he said lightly.

"No, no. A student—Vienna, Milano and now Paris."

"Music?" he ventured.

"Ah," she replied. "You are very astute."

"Do we know each other?" He wished the light were not so dim. Laughing deliciously, she said teasingly: "That is where I have the advantage of you. I know you but you do not know me. At least, probably not."

He longed to ask her last name but decided she would tell him if she wanted him to know. After all, proper young ladies of Alpaca, even though they had lived abroad, did not ordinarily introduce themselves to strangers on shipboard. They exchanged the names of European capitals; all of which she seemed to know, and where he hoped to visit.

"Are you interested in government?" he asked after awhile.

"Oh, government?" she said with a hint of boredom. "You mean politics."

"You might say," he answered seriously, "that politics is the gateway into government."

"Into government good or bad," she retorted with a perception that intrigued him. "No, I can't say I've had time to think much about it. But the men in my family do."

Again he longed to ask who they were. What was their philosophy?—or which side were they on? She evidently had no desire to tell. Was she indifferent, playful, or hostile? He had no lead whatever. She was, he decided, a good little actress.

"What do you think of woman suffrage?" he asked.

Her answer was as he expected but unnecessarily vehement, he thought. "Women should have the ballot—we will have, when voting which is counted comes to our land—we certainly share man's responsibility."

"I suppose you wouldn't be old enough to vote," he ventured.

"That would depend," she said demurely, "on the laws of the country where I resided."

Neatly expressed, Juan thought; but made no comment, except: "I'm sure I've heard your voice somewhere. It's a voice one could never forget."

"Indeed?" said she archly. "That's possible."

They were silent for a minute, and she hummed a few bars from Violetta's big aria in the first act of *La Traviata* but cut it off immediately, observing "I must go in. My aunt always travels with me. She will be looking for me, telling me not to risk the night air. Pooh! Night air is the best kind."

"Of course it is," he agreed immediately. "Couldn't we take a stroll on the deck?"

"Not this evening, thank you," she said positively. "We may meet again." And then, impulsively, "I have admired you from a distance, Achala, for a long time. Will you make me a promise?"

"Of course," he said recklessly. "What is it, fair lady?"

She leaned over, very close in the starlit gloom, and whispered, "Just don't forget me, that's all. There are other things than politics."

In an instant, she had brushed past him and was gone. But her lacy scarf, delicate as a whisper, was in his hand. It breathed a perfume of rose and jasmine; the episode caused his heart, his impervious heart, to skip a beat. He laughed softly. "The little flirt!" Juan said under his breath, "I'll see her in the morning, by daylight. Jove, is she demure? Or is she Parisienne?" He wasn't quite sure whether or not he would return her bit of gossamer scarf. Meanwhile, he folded it over and over and placed it in an inside pocket, marveling at its amazing lightness and lack of bulk.

But the next morning Juan, or "Achala" as he had overnight begun thinking of himself, having been sufficiently enthralled to look forward eagerly to meeting Mara and assessing her visible charms, learned with surprise that she and her traveling companion had disembarked at the first port of call at an early hour of the morning. He was stunned. Their visit had been brief and fragmentary, yet he was impressed and mystified.

"She knew it all the time." Achala said to himself in mingled anger and amusement. "Why didn't she give me her name? Oh, well, there aren't many families in Alpaca that harbor such daughters—I'll probably be able to place her soon." And he racked his memory for the answer, but it evaded him. She

might belong to some household of the opposition—yet no, she believed in suffrage, woman suffrage at that; such was not a mark of the oppressive government in power. That she had led a life of luxury he was inclined to guess. But, she was a student, hence of some serious inclination. What branch of music could be her *forte*? That voice—that vibrant voice! Singing, without doubt. How stupid he had been. Singing—would it be opera? The snatch from *La Traviata*—where had he heard that, lately? Of a sudden it came to him. An enchanting soloist. It could have been, must have been, this stately girl. What was her name? Busy with some issue of State, he had paid little heed. But he could find out who she was. And possibly—his pulse quickened—possibly they would meet again, in Paris.

Chapter 2

LESSONS IN EUROPE

ROMA WAS Achala's first stop. Here he was to confer with the internationally renowned lawyer, Orlando Tasso. This contact had been arranged by Juan's uncle. The two had been students together at Heidelberg years ago, shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Orlando Tasso was a law student while Juan's uncle was studying medicine. Both had passionate interest in sociology and government. During the intervening years, they had pursued successful careers in their specialized fields while ever keeping close and often deeply-disturbed watch on the progress of world affairs, by correspondence and by occasional exchange of visits, though these were but brief intervals snatched from busy lives. Juan could remember having met the revered Tasso, in early youth; but of personal intimacy there had been none, owing to disparity in ages. Now, however, Achala hoped he was of sufficient maturity to share ideas and to learn much.

"You may find," said the great Orlando, at their first interview, "that the language barrier still exists for you in Europe despite the careful tutoring you

have had. Tell me, how does it seem to you, to hear Italian spoken all about you, instead of translating it in a classroom?"

"I read your language, sir, with ease," replied Achala. "Conversation is not too difficult when it comes slowly and distinctly, as you have been speaking. But to catch the flood of rapidly-spoken idiom heard in general, makes me think that I would need several months of concentrated attention to the language alone, to become fluent and relaxed in it."

"That is very true," said Tasso in French. "Is this tongue easier for you?"

"Oh, yes sir," said Achala in relief. "I have carried on conversation with native French teachers and members of my family, since I can remember."

"Good, good! my boy—I observe your French accent is better than mine."

"Thank you, sir," said Achala modestly.

"How is your command of English?"

"I find it easy to speak and understand," said Achala in English, "but difficult to write, with its confused spelling. At home we employ English a great deal because of its widespread use throughout the world."

"You have been well taught," said the elder man. "Italian is for poetry, French for diplomacy, German and Swedish for science, Spanish and English for commerce, English for law, history, political science—and general convenience."

"Your uncle has of course informed me that you are one of a group centered on saving your land of Alpaca from the grasp of the spoilers. I agree that

this is the noblest work you could embrace. No man of conscience wishes to see civilization dethroned. And it is commendable to try to save your own country from ruin, rather than launch out with wild, unrestrained ambitions, which in the end will subjugate, tyrannize, and enslave."

"It seems to me, sir," said Achala, trying not to be overbold, "that he must begin with the individual before we can benefit society, which consists of individuals. And the crux of all that, I can't help thinking, is the protection of the individual's mind from becoming slanted toward acceptance of totalitarian government and from the great danger of having his mentality arrested or destroyed completely, not only by sly propaganda, but by the evil drugs and psychic pressures of unscrupulous despots."

Tasso's lined face saddened. "That is truly the crux of the matter, and we who would avert the danger must lose no time on abstractions for the time to resist dictatorship is short. Concrete measures are a stern need. What have your enlightened leaders worked out?"

Achala opened his briefcase, took out a meager sheaf of papers carefully prepared, containing the accumulated political wisdom of the Achala clan.

"Here is a synopsis of our labors to date," he said. "But we are merely groping. It is not we who are the leaders. That is what we would like to be. If we are unduly aggressive, we shall be accused of self-seeking and of power madness. You say the time to resist dictatorship is short. How can we step

out and try to destroy it quickly without forfeiting the very thing we value most—peace with order?"

"Such indeed is the problem," said Tasso, as he glanced through the pages. "I will retain this for further study. It appears to me that your self-appointed task is threefold. First, to formulate a comprehensive charter, or constitution, for national government. Second, to get it adopted without internal revolution. Third, to make it work, to the people's advantage."

"Correct, sir."

"I suggest that you devote what time you have in Roma to intensive study of law and government, and the history of both, in my library. I will select books for you, and since time is a factor, will mark the pertinent passages. You need more background than you now have, I believe. I will then discuss the points with you. It will be a sort of seminar with the nephew of my old friend. Ah, what times we had together in Heidelberg, in the old days!" His eyes sparkled with unspoken memories and Achala, feeling sure that sparkling ladies contributed to those memories, was instantly reminded of Mara, whose indistinct image lingered in his thoughts and whose melodious voice still echoed in his memory. Realizing that this first interview was ended, he expressed his thanks and made his farewells. He returned to his hotel carrying several books of reference, greatly encouraged by the progress and prospects.

At the same time, in a pleasant Paris apartment which was dominated by a grand piano and strewn with operatic scores, a beautiful, exotic young lady

was brushing her cloud of lovely hair and watching her aunt unpack the trunks and bags.

"I told you, Aunt Arifa, I did not *want* to leave the boat. I preferred to come straight through, as we had planned."

"And I preferred to keep my word to your father and mother," replied the aunt firmly, "to prevent interruptions in your studies, at least until you have made your debut in Milano. A fortune has already been spent on your career, young lady. We do not propose to see you deflected."

"Deflected, my foot!" exclaimed Mara inelegantly. "Can't I even get acquainted with the most attractive young man of Alpaca?"

"Not when it might lead to complications of the most involved nature," said Arifa calmly, as she deftly folded nylons. "Ever since you were ten years old you've been trying to throw yourself at the head of that radical Juan Achala. I know his type. He is romantic. You are romantic. 'Get her off the boat,' your father would have said, 'if you have to swim for the shore.' Don't think I wasn't watching you, young lady. I saw the play you made for Achala at your very first chance. Fortunately it was so dark, I don't think he would recognize you again."

"But I would recognize him," said Mara triumphantly. "And I shall see him again, I promise you. Next time, things will be different."

"There will be no next time. You know what happens if you disobey me. Your allowance will be completely cut off, all these expensive lessons in ballet and opera will be ended, and your debut at La Scala

will be canceled. You will be thrown penniless upon the world, with no future, no friends. I am here to keep you from doing something foolish that you will regret your life-long. Achala is not for you. Achala is poison to the government in Alpaca, and unacceptable to the honored family of Hani."

"Achala is an honored family, too," protested Mara Hani. "Achala men are distinguished. Achala women are noble, beautiful, good and kind."

"What foolishness, child! I tell you they are on the other side. The Hani women are gentlewomen. I was ashamed when you told him that you embraced the shocking notion of votes for women, which of course would mean participation in politics, dirty politics. Most unladylike."

"Why should politics always be dirty?" Mara wanted to know. "Can't it ever take a bath?"

"Now you're being witty," said her aunt, laughing and hugging her. "That's my sweet brilliant girl, who will soon be ready to enter upon an operatic career and become the despair and envy of all the ladies, the toast of all the gentlemen. Come now, practice trills and cadenzas for thirty minutes. I will play your accompaniment, and then your fencing master will be waiting for you. Oh, my precious darling, can't you see that all we Hanis are doing is entirely for your own good?"

"I do like to sing," admitted Mara. "And I like to make an audience stand up and cheer. Stage emotions, though, are not enough. There must be a few real emotions, too."

"Plenty of time for that," said Arifa. "You'll be a

sensation, my love, if you will only keep your head, not let your heart betray you into making inferior connections."

Mara murmured rebelliously, "Achala is not inferior—if ever you say that again, I'll cancel the debut myself! So there!"

Chapter 3

REUNION WITH MARA

AS SOON AS Achala reached Geneva, he found available to him the sources of information about which he had been dreaming. His first rude awakening about the governments he had exalted came when he found that Switzerland and Uruguay, which had often been held up to him as near-perfect forms of government, had probably endured only because of peculiar situations which favored the inhabitants and lands of those countries, rather than from any profound wisdom in the plan of their governments.

He soon decided the Swiss had succeeded in staying out of two World Wars, not because of their own wisdom, but because the belligerents had valued Switzerland more as a neutral than as a participant. Almost any of them could at one time or another easily have invaded and subjugated that little country. He was struck by the thought: "Will they only leave Alpaca alone if we get freedom started there, as they have the Swiss?"

Achala's contacts were excellent. Everywhere he was well received. He occupied himself each day with the accumulation and storing of ideas, some-

times visiting or working far into the night. He could simply find no one whose ideas he did not want to explore, so long as they could make even the slightest contribution to his subject of government. Busy as he was, he found himself thinking more and more about Mara and the caress in her voice when she first addressed him as Achala. He found himself wondering what Mara was doing and what she would think of some aspect or situation in the life of nations with which he was engrossed. In her absence he built up a high regard for her opinions. It came as a shock to him that he knew little or nothing about her views aside from the fact that she ardently favored woman suffrage.

Did this dearth of information prevent the bemused young man from continuing to create an ideal portrait of Mara? Of course not! He dreamed up a paragon such as hardly any human being could ever bring to life. Without being an ardent patron of the arts, he shrewdly surmised that no young woman would be advised to pursue an operatic career unless she had great talent, poise, perseverance, charm, beauty of face and figure. Out of whole cloth, because he needed desperately to believe it, he endowed her with common sense and the capacity for sympathetically understanding Alpaca's political conditions. Had he not thrown in those desirable traits for good measure, Achala could hardly have survived the weeks which must elapse before his itinerary would bring him to Paris.

When his mail caught up with him, he received copies of home newspapers. In them he found a flat-

tering item about an opera singer recently returned to her studies in Europe. Her name, he learned, was Mlle. Mara Hani. This news amazed him. The Hani family, very prominent in his native land, was thought to be tolerant of the dictatorship transiently in power, although not openly allied with the government despised by the Achalas. The report identified Mara—but otherwise it was distasteful.

The Hanis were a commercial family interested in shipping, agriculture and industrial projects on a large scale. They believed in getting along with the "powers that be," however and wherever they found them.

The Achalas, on the contrary, were idealists imbued with thoughts for promoting freedom and individual liberty; moderately wealthy and entirely aloof from those "inside deals" which the unscrupulous often carried on. The Hanis never soiled their hands with open political moves, whereas the Achalas would risk censure, public abuse and smears for the sake of conscience.

It was a delicate situation, intolerable to him, and Achala swallowed hard. He did not for one moment associate Mara with anything ignoble. His idealization of her would not permit the intrusion of one unkind thought. No! She was a victim of circumstances, from which, when the time came, he must rescue her. The lace scarf which he treasured became an emblem of all that was fine and fragile, beautiful and womanly, in sympathy and accord with his own strivings. Mara Hani—what a beautiful name! Because she bore it, he could not even casti-

gate the tribe of Hani. There must be some good in them, to have produced so perfect a flower.

Achala found himself making excuses for hastening to Paris. In addition to the study of government which Paris would offer, there was a lingering, yearning hope that he might there find the beautiful Mara Hani.

In Roma and Geneva, Achala made many friends who lived in those cities, as well as new-found friends who were, like Achala, visitors there. They quickly became interested in his search for facts to build a plan for a government in the future. Wherever he had been, friends he made from London, The Hague, Athens, Paris and other centers represented the most inspiring future contacts for him in their homelands.

Achala wrote fluently and some of his young friends, learning of his burning and consuming desire to originate a workable constitution for his small country, volunteered their best efforts, training and secretarial talents to the cause. Some were historians of parts—some could write clearly, many had vast experience—all could think; soon there was a group.

In Paris he had some marginal time—as what young man in Paris would not?—and within a few days his close attention to newspapers and billboards was rewarded. The talented and glamorous Mara Hani, coloratura soprano, longtime student under Francois Rochelle and other maestros, would sing an aria on a charity program at the Palace of Baron and Baroness Brumaire, on Tuesday evening, just one month prior to her scheduled operatic debut in

Lucia di Lammermoor, at the v in Milano. Tickets were available and for a certain fancy price.

Achala found out that this was of the season, and that the int would be well represented. Tued him properly attired and occupy intimate, gilded private recital hall or the Brumaire Palace, which dated back to the time when Haydn and Mozart were proteges of royalty, and performed at the royal beck and call. The box seated six—he had bought the last ticket. Not certain whether or not he should introduce himself to the other five occupants, who seemed to be close friends, he contented himself with acknowledging their presence by bowing and smiling. This apparently was acceptable decorum. Achala still did not know that his presence was magnetic, and in any company of notables he fitted like hand in glove. He settled back in the outside chair of the rear row and prepared to endure the rest of the program until Mara should appear. She was billed to come last. The evening was endless.

During the program, consisting chiefly of intricate dances, he heard the ladies and gentlemen nearby discussing the ravishing new coloratura whom nobody knew, but of whom everyone had heard. She was said to be a meteor scintillating across the musical sky. She was said to be a mysterious princess from Egypt, appearing incognito, for reasons of State. It was asserted that La Scala was already sold out for the night of her forthcoming debut. It was ru-

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mored that all her diamonds were real; she would not wear rhinestones even to rehearsal. It was more or less reliably said that more than one prince had tried in vain to win her favor. All the gentlemen were on the *qui vive*, while the ladies fanned themselves languidly.

When at long last the dancers had danced every conceivable figure from adagio to tarantella, from cakewalk to tango, and had tirelessly taken their encores, a soft rustle of expectation and subdued excitement swept through the house; it was time for the fairytale singer to perform. The small orchestra in the miniature pit laid scores on racks. The conductor raised his baton. Dark blue plush curtains parted and there, against a huge mirrored backdrop, stood a slim erect vision of femininity, with exquisite coiffure above an oval face, and long-lashed eyes that were limpid pools of mystery and witchery unparalleled.

She wore an ankle-length, tight sheath of velvet in crushed-raspberry color which accented her flawless complexion, displaying perfect arms and shoulders. A rope of diamonds circled her tiny waist and on her head rested a triumph of the jeweler's art, a tiara of diamonds set in delicate filigree. On her feet were slender high-heeled slippers, suggestive of Cinderella's fabled glass footwear. All this richness of setting was as nothing compared to the authentic, living beauty at its focal point. The audience caught its breath, broke into a spontaneous ripple of applause which subsided as Mara began to sing.

Who could describe that lilting voice, powerful,

true and sweet; expressing all the emotion implicit in the aria; a voice not forced, never sacrificing the tender innocent naivete of lovely, pathetic Lucia? Next day, the critics of the press were to exhaust their adjectives in adulation. That night, listeners knew they were witnessing opera history in the making. An awed moment of stillness followed the final double-bar; then, applause was thunderous. She took bow after bow; it was evident that even to gaze upon Mara's fresh glowing young beauty was a thing to dazzle this select group of jaded Parisians, while talent, added to charm, proved an intoxicating draught.

At length Mara signaled to the orchestra leader for an encore, and the audience went completely wild as it realized the next aria would be the *Caro Nome* from *Rigoletto*. "Old war-horses," murmured the woman nearest Achala to her escort, who replied: "Ridden by a real equestrienne."

And now the spirit was entirely changed; pathos was gone; all was exultant joy, unmarred by premonitions. The sympathetic audience followed each successive intonation with greedy rapture; they still could not credit such unheralded artistry from a slim ingenue-type girl.

While the encore was in progress, an usher silently lifted the curtain behind the box where Achala sat entranced. The boy whispered, "Monsieur Achala" and held out a program which was received mechanically. Achala glanced at it hurriedly. On its cover was scribbled in pencil: *Bring scarf immed. to my dress. mm.*

Scarf? Immediately? Dressing room? Yes, the lace trifle lay safe in his pocket. Achala followed the boy backstage, paused in the wings to glimpse the singer's exquisite profile, and to catch the tricky ending of the aria delivered with ease and abandon. He did not reach the dressing room; onstage was far too exciting. Ten times was Mara recalled by an audience gone mad. The eleventh time she appeared wearing a cape of priceless blue mink flung over her deep pink gown, and held up her hand to speak. In the instant hush she told them, enunciating her words clearly in those wonderful caressing tones:

"I thank you, I thank you from the depths of my heart. My orchestra has used up all its scorings, so I shall have to say goodnight, my dear ones, good night." She kissed both hands to them, but they clamored for yet another song. And then Mara did the unprecedented. Had Achala not seen it, he would not have believed it.

There was a small upright piano, closed and standing backstage. Mara motioned to two men to push it forward. Then she gently drew a little, shrinking middle-aged woman from where she stood in the wings weeping with happiness. Mara said:

"The problem is solved, ladies and gentlemen. I will sing once more, and my dear aunt, who has stood by and urged me on, since I was seven years old, to prepare me for this moment—my dear devoted aunt, Mlle. Arifa Hani, will accompany me in the Shadow Song from *Dinorah*."

At that the roof fell in, figuratively speaking. Aunt Arifa brushed the tears from her eyes, wondered if

her dark green silk hung straight, settled herself at the small upright, and played the accompaniment without notes, as she had played it five hundred times for her darling in practice sessions. Mara, knowing that Achala was safely on leash and sharing her triumph, sang like an angel on leave from heaven. Aunt Arifa gave a tremendously good account of herself. At the finish, the audience surged forward onstage, making it impossible to close the curtains, and pandemonium reigned.

Presently, Mara disengaged herself and escaped to the side of Achala, who took possession of her as if she belonged to him and propelled her toward the rear exit. She said: "Darling, I knew you'd come. Wasn't it wonderful? You haven't a date with anyone else, have you?" Achala for once was speechless. She continued: "We must look after Aunt Arifa, though. You don't know about her, do you? She's a frustrated concert pianist. Studied for years, here and in London, before I was born. Made a flop on her debut recital, would never try again. Went back home and made a vocalist out of me. This sudden success tonight—well look, she's twenty years younger already. Who is the old man talking to her?"

The "old man" turned out to be Sir Gerald Ripney of Cobbles Court, in the South of England. Beaming, he held Arifa Hani's hands and proclaimed: "My favorite concert pianist, some twenty years ago. You retired? Ridiculous! Play better than ever, upon my word! Magnificent support, spur of the moment, and all that! Gave your all to this marvelous niece—no wonder she's tops, couldn't be otherwise. I see she

has her escort. Now the four of us must go to Maxim's for a bite of something substantial. Don't often find an old friend under such happy circumstances; calls for celebration, don't you know!"

Aunt Arifa, almost fainting with joy, could only nod acquiescence. Mara and Achala pleaded plans of their own; the two couples went their separate ways, Aunt Arifa hardly noticing the presence of Achala, and too drugged with emotion to care.

"I'd like to take you to my apartment," said Mara to Achala, "but my chaperon has walked out on me, and the concierge..."

"Let me call a taxicab," interrupted Achala. "We can drive until morning, and begin getting acquainted."

"What a wonderful ideal!" she said.

Chapter 4

A WARMING FRIENDSHIP

MARA NOW FACED a four-week interval between her highly successful recital in Paris and her opera debut in Milano. She was under contract to rehearse with the cast during the last week prior to the *Lucia* presentation at La Scala. Ordinarily she would have been ultra keyed up by all the thousand details of costuming, polishing the stage business, keeping her voice in trim, consulting her agent as to press releases, getting enough rest and sleep, re-examining the mechanics of her dramatic interpretation, and so on indefinitely.

But something had happened. It was true that she had worshiped Achala, from a distance, nearly all her life. Her own docile disposition, and the pressure of her family to preserve their fixed social status, to be loyal to their clan, and to develop her artistic talent through rigid application with no letdown, year after year, had insulated her from romance. At the same time, continual listening to, and looking at, operatic performances, plus subjecting herself to sharing those most devastating of emotional outbursts without, however, experiencing emotional reality for herself,

had repressed her natural transition from adolescence to early womanhood, until the moment of self-emanicipation had arrived explosively. It was well for Mara that the one who prompted her blossoming into sudden maturity was a man of highest ideals and complete understanding. He had, through many torturous weeks, envisioned her as being just what she miraculously was—a beautiful, gifted, many-sided unspoiled example of perfect young womanhood. Each was struck as by lightning with the advent of such a heaven-sent partner. Each went about the daily routine with ecstasy in every thought, in every action.

It is worthy of note that each *did* adhere to fixed responsibilities; neither thought of dodging or postponing them. Both Mara and Achala felt their sensibilities and capabilities infinitely enhanced. As their thoughts and ambitions merged, it was as if some mighty force had removed all finite limits to attainment, everything seemed easy. She sang like a theater impresario's dream. He analyzed and expanded his Plan for their beloved homeland's future security and peace.

Letters from home were discouraging and gave Achala no indication that it would be practical for him to return.

Little by little Achala explained to Mara his present mission in life. She listened raptly, intelligently. Soon he felt he had her complete sympathy and confidence. But still he asked, frankly:

"Dearest Mara, do my views conflict basically or in any way at all with your feelings and convictions?"

You know that your kinsmen and mine do not fully agree."

"I know that, Achala, my dear, dear friend. I see very clearly that your dream for our country's freedom is at variance with the thoughts and practices of my father, my brothers, my uncles, and my cousins. At the same time, I am Mara, an individual, a Patriot, and am blessed with a mind of my own which I have had unusual opportunity to develop. I have some personal opinions of what is right and just, and I have had to use a little executive ability in shaping my own career, or what promises to be a career. Aunt Arifa hasn't done it all, you know."

Achala smiled. "I had deduced that. But I love the way you build up her ego in public. By the way, what's become of Aunt Arifa? We don't see much of her. I had the impression she would be constantly on hand and urging you to practice for La Scala."

Mara could not restrain a mischievous little laugh. She said: "You mean, you haven't seen her bubbling around, bothering us. Well, there are three good reasons for that. Want to know what they are?"

"Can't wait," he said adoringly.

"First," she said, checking them off on her fingers, "I assured my dear aunt, in no uncertain terms, that, if she interferes with my artistic temperament and its expression with so much as one tiny little objection to anything, during these next weeks, I will personally cancel my appearance in *Lucia* and let La Scala refund all the money for tickets on a sold-out house. Aunt Arifa knew I meant what I said. It would wreck her to have that happen."

"Bravo!" said Achala in high amusement. "What next, my diva?"

"Second—she is perfectly aware that I know the role of Lucia, I can sing and act it in my sleep; for she herself has done much of the coaching and I can tell you it was thorough. Besides, last spring I sang it in an unpublicized command performance for the Queen of the Netherlands and her daughters; so I know that I am letter-perfect in the part. I am vocalizing each day and doing all my health exercises, and shall have one week of rehearsal in Italy to acquaint me with any local variations in the presentation."

"Buenol!" exclaimed Achala gleefully. "I had wondered about it, why you didn't seem nervous or worried."

"Oh, preparation means everything. Some singers cultivate stage fright, say it helps them to give a better performance, but I think not. Number Three is confidential—do you want to hear it?"

"Do I?" said Achala eagerly, knowing from the merriment in her eyes that this reason might be the most interesting of all.

"Very well, but it's a deep dark secret, so far. You remember Sir Gerald Ripney, of Cobbles Court, in England?"

"Oh yes, he's the old duck who appeared so opportunely at the palace and diverted Aunt Arifa's attention from us. I only wish he had been on the boat that night."

"But this is better yet," she insisted. "He told her she played magnificently, you know. Well, she really

did outdo herself, in all the excitement and surprise. Now Sir Gerald, a genteel widower for many years, who has several children back at Cobbles Court, is squiring Aunt Arifa around Paris—he knows all the right people; and she, poor dear, is getting younger by the minute, and neglecting me in fine fashion. I can't figure out yet whether he means to marry her, or to engage her as governess for his children. For her sake, I hope it's the former, though I can testify that she would shine in the latter role."

Both laughed heartily. Achala said, with wonder in his tone: "We even enjoy the same jokes, don't we? Of course, Aunt Arifa is not exactly a joke."

"Oh, but if you only knew the way she has put me through my paces, since I was seven years old, Achala; if you knew how she has frowned on any splinter of romance, you *would* see the joke. Now tell me more about the work you're doing to free Alpaca from dictatorship. That is far more important than anything I have ever tried to accomplish."

He said thoughtfully: "I know of Sir Gerald's position and influence in England. If he is going to get our permission to woo Aunt Arifa, he must share with us his knowledge and his contacts."

He looked at her with yearning but with utter directness.

"Mara, do not deceive me, do not trifle with me. You have my devotion, but I must tell you that I love my country more. So tell me the truth. Can you go on with me, truly and uncompromisingly, even though your people should disapprove?"

She placed both her hands in his, looked into his eyes with candor.

"Achala," she said quietly, "I too love my country more than life itself, more than I could love any individual. If my people are in the wrong, I may be able gradually to win them over. Ah, you shake your head. Then leave that in the realm of the unknown, the unknowable. I will try, for I think that they are now shortsighted. I may fail. In either event, my Achala, my heart is yours and my loyalty is yours, if decisive choice must be made. I know from what you've told me, that you and your group are selflessly dedicated to our country's good. You may depend on me . . . darling."

He held her close, and murmured: "We were made for each other. It was foreordained that we should be united. You know that, don't you?"

For answer, she turned to him with faith in her eyes. Each felt happiness touching the sublime. Presently he put his plea into words:

"Will you help me further this plan for just government? Will you do me the honor of working with me and the friends I have made?"

"Yes, Achala," Mara promised, and he could not doubt her. "Tell me as much, or as little, as you please. I am with you, all the way!"

So it came about that Mara was enlisted in the cause; now there were two where there had been one, crusading for a better, fairer, safer Alpaca.

Soon it became apparent that Achala had recruited an exceptional ally. They made a forceful team—each complemented the other. Each recognized the

other as an individual. He would have urged immediate marriage, but with her pending debut—the culmination of a lifetime of arduous labor—they knew they must wait a while. It would not be fair to ask her for so great an adjustment, at this particular moment.

When together they got down to real study, Mara began to learn from Achala more about the enthusiasts he had gathered about him since he had been in Europe and their differing ideas for building government ideally suited to a small country.

She asked, "Where did you get your drive to devise a political plan for curing existing evils?"

Achala thoughtfully replied, "Our eldest and wisest have been debating among themselves for years, just what steps to take. Keenly aware of their limitations and lack of practical experience, they knew that their accumulated knowledge came down largely from the distant past."

Seeing her interest, Achala went on: "Orlando Tasso, the great Italian lawyer, examined what we had done and gave us further impetus. We read Aristotle and other ancient thinkers who discussed government. But there is little parallel between the present and the ancient world where the slaves outnumbered free men sometimes in a ratio of four to one. Alpaca, of course, is a country of free and equal citizens—theoretically so, at any rate; it goes without saying that dictatorship will eventually divide the people of any land into a slave class and an elite."

"And that is why it must be headed off," said Mara, nodding in a practical way.

"Yes, positively, before it is too late. In a free country, the impulse of public policy must come from below, through layers of education. Despite a debasing slave system which perhaps led to their state's ultimate undoing, the more intelligent of the ancient Greeks were, beyond question, stumbling toward our own idea that rule should be in the hands of the responsible and the Patriotic."

"I mean to learn your Plan by heart, so that I can talk, think and plan with you. I'll study it, I promise you—I'll steep myself in it, from now until I go to Milano and after I come back to Paris—as if it were a new operative role I had made up my mind to learn. I know fourteen roles already, a great number for a novice, and Alpaca's Plan shall be my fifteenth."

Achala looked at her with worship in his eyes. Their natures were so different, yet they complemented each other so well. "I love you, Mara," he said simply.

"That's what I want most," she said softly, "more than my own career. But not more than the welfare of our country. We're together on that. The point is, I believe in your Plan, even before I take it on for my fifteenth role, because, Achala, I believe in you."

"Thank you, Mara," he said humbly.

"Even though I'm trained to be a singing artist," she explained, "I've gone about my studies in a businesslike way. Every little thing was planned for that recital you heard, even the rumors about the mys-

terious newcomer." She looked roguish for an instant. "You and your friends have worked out the right solution for Alpaca, I'm sure of that; that's your specialty, not mine. But I can help you sell it to the people, Achala." Her tone was very serious. "I can help you put it over, my darling. As soon as I can get this debut out of the way, we'll make a Team. Oh, what a Team! We'll perfect the details here, then go back home and show the people what's good for them. What do you say?"

"It sounds . . . as beautiful as your singing, Mara. How can I say more?"

"How long will it take," she asked practically, "to get your Plan in finished form?"

"Oh, I don't know, I can't tell . . ."

"But how much longer?" she insisted. "Time is a factor, in anything."

He remembered that Tasso too had warned, "Time is a factor."

"Yes, and especially now, with government almost everywhere either in too fluid form or tending to become fixed, rigid, outside the people's power." Achala paused, concentrating on the time factor which was, he knew, vastly important. "I have considerably more to do here. I was supposed to visit The Hague, Cairo, and Jerusalem, though if conditions at home look threatening I could skip those places. London was on my itinerary before Paris, but I shifted."

He smiled and blushed, which made Mara love him all the more. "I really ought to go to London for a fortnight. That possibly would get the purely

theoretical work under control, or place it at least in the domain of future correspondence."

"Darling, a little thought comes to me," said Mara. "You were thinking of flying to Milano for Lucia, were you not?"

"Don't put it in the past tense," he said reproachfully. "I intend to be there. Don't you want me?"

"Oh, now I have hurt you," Mara exclaimed, "and I did not mean to do that. Of course I want you there, my Achala. Your presence would inspire me, as it did when I saw you in that box at the palace. But I shall be intensively occupied for a solid week; we would be able to see very little of each other. It seems to me that your work is too urgent and important to be interrupted and you should go to London on schedule."

Achala said helplessly: "I am putty in your hands—direct me, my diva."

PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTION

ACHALA MADE arrangements to go to London for one week, as Mara had suggested. The days remaining until they would be separated seemed to him the most precious of his life. They were days filled with study and discussion among individuals and groups of students whom he had come to know, and Mara was sometimes present. The first time she joined them, Achala presented her with pride. She fitted easily into the group. She was devoting the mornings to her professional routine but keeping afternoons free, even with her great ordeal fast approaching.

"It is not really an ordeal to you, is it?" he said one day when they were alone, "singing the role of Lucia, I mean."

"I am well drilled in it, Achala," she replied calmly, "I am keeping myself in condition. I am happy because I have you. Why should anything be an ordeal? Not long ago I might have been less poised. Something has happened to me. Opera has been my ambition all these years. I looked forward to the time when I should give pleasure to audiences and

compel admiration. Since I have known you all that seems less important. Your patient explanations have made me see how vital good government is. I only want to get this debut over, because I owe it to my friends and to my former ideals and ambitions. When I have proved myself a success, I shall come back to you and help you save our country from those trying to ruin it—whoever they are," she added with meaning.

"Mara, Mara, you are superb. You never fear failure, do you?"

"What is failure? It is lack of preparation. I shall be tense before I go on the stage that night, but I shall not be afraid. A few hours of tenseness—what of that?"

"You are so brave," said Achala. "Most of us would tremble to meet so great a challenge. Your idea of full and detailed preparation is like mine, in the drafting of our Plan."

"Let us get back to the Plan," she said. "I have not yet made it my fifteenth role, but I am studying it and find it fascinating."

"Truly, do you, Mara?" he asked, for he had feared she might find it technical, hence forbidding. Above all, he hoped the concerted effort of so many dedicated workers would produce a worthy document which the man in the street, the worker in the vineyard, the housewife rocking the cradle, the shepherd at his lonely outpost, and the soldier in his barracks, could understand.

"I don't see how you could have made it clearer," she told him; and no music from her lips ever

sounded sweeter to his ear. "I want you to go on from where we left off yesterday, and impart to me a fraction of your wisdom."

This, coming from Mara, was a request not to be denied.

Notwithstanding Mara's approaching debut at La Scala, Milano and, vastly more important, their intended marriage, Achala and Mara took great pride in the highly intelligent group of friends who were becoming interested with them in the Plan.

Naturally they received great diversity of opinion from their many counselors. In their visits and studies they did not confine themselves to any one class, age, profession, nationality or station in life. Both became astute investigators, historians and researchers in the social science, trying to incorporate everything they learned in a Plan wherein peace and freedom would be uppermost.

When they sensed danger in being over-influenced by information they were receiving from any particular source, one or the other of them would promptly see the opposite point of view from contrary sources and get information to offset that which they were about to accept before they were sufficiently informed. They repeatedly reviewed any phase of government about which they felt they had been reaching a hasty conclusion.

It seemed that nearly all members of the Team understood that they must not talk each other into impotence while trying to get something done.

Mara and Achala were ever indebted to those who advanced the decisive thinking and reasoning

which resulted in the use of any section or clause in the Plan. Many Team members earned commendation in connection with their proposal for a draft of a part of the Plan. In discussing these good friends, one day Mara injected a question, "What about the ones who have offered ideas which we did not finally accept?" After a lengthy talk they decided they were equally indebted to those Team members whose contributions were never accepted. It was they who furnished the background which made Mara and Achala all the more sure of the provisions upon which they decided. They were the constructive critics of whom we so often hear; the staunch opposition is another way of saying it. They offered the basis for comparison from which the best was selected with a firm conviction that it was the best.

For example, there was Josef Holbrecht, the 22-year-old from Salzburg, Austria, who possessed an IQ beyond compare with that of any other brain-truster on the Team. He had the rare combination of force along with thoughtfulness. It was nearly impossible to dismiss some of his views even when they varied from the best that were advanced from any other source. There was considerable merit in all views expressed so ably by Josef, yet in nearly all cases his thinking was ultimately rejected. Often it was for technical reasons, such as the impossibility of administration. Many of Josef's views failed to be incorporated on the theory that, in a government based on fairness and justice, what is good for the possessor of the greatest wealth in the Nation is good

for the poorest citizen or the citizen in any degree of prosperity between these extremes.

Frequently someone referred to the USA as the "Model Republic." A happy addition to the Plan Team family were the likeable Americanos, Robert and Betty Brown from Abilene, Kansas, one of the towns claiming "Ike" for its own. Bob and Betty's background was interesting to all because they had dealt with life in its actuality rather than theory. Betty had been a secretary in a large department store in Chicago, and Bob an industrial worker in Detroit. During a visit Bob made to Chicago, they met and after a short romance, were married. Both of them were farm reared and had an innate love of the land. They pooled their savings, purchased a farm near Abilene, becoming their own bosses in a modest farming operation in that grain and livestock region. At the end of three years they had succeeded far beyond their expectations and to the extent that they decided a delayed honeymoon was in order. Such sweet success often rewards the individual who is master of his destiny.

In Roma they had met and liked Juan Achala. He had so many questions to ask about life in the USA, as they had seen and lived it, that they excitedly searched their memories for all the information they could possibly convey to this likeable young man, to help him with his Plan. Wherever he was, the Browns kept contact with him, and at his suggestion would visit and compare notes with others of Achala's new-found friends in whatever country they happened to be.

In their discussions with other members of the Plan Team, Bob and Betty Brown injected a thought-provoking question: if a republic is established, how long will it last? Drawing from the experience of their own country, the Browns emphasized the fact that once a republic is established it will come to have divisive internal elements seeking to tear it down. This is inevitable, they advised, because the freedom of a republic rightfully allows dissent, up to the point of anarchy or sedition. The Browns stressed that the Plan Team should keep this in mind in drafting the Constitution for Alpaca, and should pattern this document to eliminate loopholes for those who would seek to destroy it. Bob and Betty also related, from their own first-hand experience, the fact that when a republic is so threatened, it will be saved—if it is saved—only by people whose political persuasion is to the Right of average. The logic of this conclusion was based on the fact that middle-of-the-roaders—the “moderates,” the neutrals—will not stand up in defense of the republic. Indeed, some of the “moderates” succumb to the pressures exerted by the collectivists who historically undermine republics, and the “moderates” resist only to the extent of urging “moderation” or gradualism, the Browns said. The young couple frequently cited the fact that even a large segment of businessmen in their country abstained from showing any more than token signs of patriotism, because they had been sold a “line” for thirty years; that it was “bad for business” to do so, that it would alienate labor, disturb

stockholders, lose customers, and so forth—which is far from the truth, the Browns hastened to add.

Achala had believed that romance was, for him, a thing to be repressed and postponed until the great work upon which he was embarked should be finished. One thing at a time, he told himself sternly. But Mara’s luscious personality was a force he had not reckoned with. Her intense interest in his cause drew them more closely together, and within a shorter time than any match-making diviner of tea leaves or clairvoyant could have predicted. As Achala reluctantly took a plane for London, he realized anew how his life had become keyed to a subtle undercurrent of change. That the week ahead would, however, prove fruitful he felt certain. Aunt Arifa had mentioned to Sir Gerald Ripney that Achala was about to cross the Channel in quest of further knowledge, whereupon that genial gentleman came forward with time-saving lists of persons in government who could be depended upon to provide information and stimulating ideas.

“Great mission you’re on, young man,” he said. “Begin with Magna Charta, trace the rise of good government down to present-day British Commonwealth, best of all possible systems. Would be happy to take you around London myself, but the girls have graciously consented to let me go along to Milano, carry packages, open doors for them, that sort of thing. Wouldn’t miss *Lucia*, Scottish idyll and all that, don’t you know. Will bring back full report.” His ruddy face beamed with delight.

Contacts in and near London contributed to Achala

la's search for practical information and guidance. His goal, obviously, was to construct a workable Plan for a faraway land whose people had never known benign laws. This appealed to several Britishers of high mentality and vivid imagination who could appreciate the daring of such an effort. The English enjoy protection, gradually evolved, against injustice, without formality of a written constitution. They forthwith became staunch friends and supporters of Achala's project, promising continued research and correspondence.

It was heartening to have strangers cease being strangers, taking the Plan seriously. Despite the Plan Team's deepseated resolve never to let their dream-government degenerate into monarchy, Achala would carry through life a warm, cozy feeling of regard for the British Isles and their inhabitants, with their gentle words of veneration for Royalty.

And then he was again on a plane, Paris-bound, at almost the very hour of Mara's debut. He longed to fly to her side, but prudence restrained him. His backers at home would consider such a detour beyond the wise expenditure of time and money and, besides, Mara had advised against it. He could appreciate the fact that she must withdraw from his orbit and, by supreme act of will, concentrate on this crowning episode in her own career. Moment by moment, Achala envisioned her as she lived through possible mishaps and miscues. Would she prove her mettle and vindicate her faith in preparedness, as a shield and buckler against those demons of nervousness which, Achala had long understood, beset the

seasoned prima donna as well as the untried beginner?

He need have had no qualms. Awaiting Achala in his hotel lobby was Sir Gerald Ripney, just in by plane from Milano, laden with newspapers carrying the reviews, aglow with more than usual enthusiasm. He exclaimed:

"Tremendous audience response and ovation! Not so much as one slip in the entire performance! Mara was beautiful, beautiful! Never saw such poise. From now on, she has the world of music at her feet. And to think, the future Lady Ripney devoted so much of her life to training this lovely star! Congratulate me, my boy, on my good fortune."

Even prior to the Ripney nuptials, Mara and Achala were united in a simple civil ceremony in Paris, where a few of their new friends gathered, gay and joyous, inclined to throw rice and old shoes. The event was devoid of pomp and show which would have attended it, had this union of the Achala and Hani families taken place in Alpaca. The press could not be kept away, most reporters regarding the marriage as a fitting climax to the bride's recent triumph.

The two principals felt their union gave added impetus to the great objective of bringing freedom to Alpaca.

Although their country's destiny had become the paramount influence in their lives, and they were dedicated to the principles of Liberty, Justice, and Peace, there had to be a short interval for them to pursue what might be called a policy of isolationism.

One precious week of "getting-to-know-you" they allowed themselves in a heavenly retreat on the Riviera.

That first night they stood awhile on a balcony overlooking the starlit Mediterranean, in ecstasy—almost speechless—but not quite. Yielding to the protective curve of his arm, Mara whispered:

"No more trumped-up love scenes with a screeching tenor."

"No more stage kisses," Achala assured her.

"No more fake emotions," she gloated.

"Or artificial leers," he said firmly. "The real thing, or nothing."

She shivered a little, in pure bliss. He whipped a frothy lace trifle from his pocket.

"Ah," she breathed reproachfully, "You never returned my property."

"Just because," he explained, "at the time I received it, I vowed a vow to replace it on the shoulders of my lawful wedded wife."

Enraptured, they let conversation languish, while waves lapped gently against the beach below, and the incurious moon rose slowly.

Chapter 6

THE PLAN TEAM

THE SMALL COTERIE enthusiastically working with Achala and Mara on the Plan came to be spoken of as "The Group," "The Team" or "Plan Team." Soon they and their friends laughingly spoke of "The Triumvirate—Achala, Mara, Alpaca."

From the start, there was realization by all in the Group that, in any revision of government, the most important element would be the citizens of the country. As the thinking was uniform on a government framed in Lincoln's immortal words, "of the people, by the people," they could all agree readily that the proposed Constitution would create a representative government elected through democracy. But beyond this, opinion proved diverse. Who are "the people" in the voting sense? In electing officials, should the criterion at the polls be "one man, one vote?" Or should there be recognition, in providing voting qualifications, that people do differ? It was pointed out that some citizens are better qualified by superior education or attainments to exercise judgment than are others. Again for various reasons some make greater contributions to general good than others. If

these conditions are admitted, should better-qualified or more-devoted citizens have greater voting power than the mill run of people? There was no unanimity in thinking on this problem. There were arguments from various angles and for differing proposals in the Group. All realized that the proper provision for national suffrage was the fundamental requirement for the Constitution. But there was so much argument pro and con on the suggestions advanced that no agreement could be reached on an over-all accepted solution.

This was not true, of course, of all ideas on suffrage that were presented. There was little disagreement in the Group on the general idea of universal suffrage for all classes and ages beyond maturity. Few voices were raised against votes for women. But on some other plans, it was evident that a great deal of further study and exploration of historic experience would be necessary. So it was agreed on Achala's suggestion that other aspects of the Constitution would be taken up and decided, that suffrage would be further discussed from time to time as reports were made and ideas advanced. This procedure was followed with the result that the Group agreement on suffrage remained open until many of the last phases of the Constitution were achieved.

Initially, the thinking centered on allowing one vote to younger qualified registrants, increasing this to two votes at the more mature age of 22. But it was pointed out that this proposal impaired the basic idea of uniform suffrage. The idea of selective suf-

frage was presented during the argument, but either diplomatically or ruthlessly was avoided, discredited, refuted, or rejected. While it made no headway with the Team, one inquisitive member kept the subject alive by asking some questions apparently for his own information or perhaps satisfaction.

Jan Wauskoski posed his question in a summarizing statement to the group, but the question and the summary were both intended to elicit a response from Holbrecht. "Some of us," Jan began, "are thinking about woman's suffrage when we talk of universal suffrage. Or we confuse universal suffrage with uniform suffrage. I believe that what we've been talking about, up to now, is uniform suffrage; and what we need, at this point, is a common ground of understanding. Just what is uniform suffrage? If a decision can be made as to what uniform suffrage is, we will know a great deal more about what we are trying to settle. I believe our group will be divided as to the minimum age for suffrage, but we could probably agree on some age from 18 through 21 years. There must be a requirement for a length of residence in Alpaca or in the voter's province of residence, I would think.

"Unquestionably, there must be a form of registration for prospective voters, and a voter should be properly registered before being allowed to vote in any election.

"But we could talk at length, and get into some fine arguments, about any of these points, without knowing if we are talking about the same things. So I would like to see a written draft which would estab-

lish uniform suffrage for Alpaca. If such a draft can be agreed upon, basically, then we would all have a common point of reference should anyone in the future propose to depart from the provisions of uniform suffrage."

Achala nodded his approval of Jan's observation, and Holbrecht, as Jan expected, volunteered: "I shall work toward preparing a very concise draft of the qualifications for voting in Alpaca."

Holbrecht started his draft by defining the difference between universal suffrage and uniform suffrage. For the purposes of this draft, he stated, universal suffrage was considered "the extension of the vote to all persons above a given age, with no further qualifications." Uniform suffrage, he wrote, was "the application of uniform qualifications for voting, to all persons given the right to vote by the Constitution." Holbrecht then stated that uniform suffrage was the system to be instituted by the draft of the Group position.

In the draft, Holbrecht restrained himself from editorializing for his own points of view. He limited the draft to basic considerations, leaving some controversial points for resolution by the Group, and expecting that some additional qualifications—including his own ideas, if he could sell them to the Group—would be added before the draft would be incorporated into a final Group position paper for inclusion in the Constitution.

The draft called for the vote to be extended to all persons except felons, 18 years of age and above, regardless of sex, race, creed, or color. It specified that

each citizen of Alpaca, native or naturalized, would be qualified to vote in all national elections, and that qualification for voting in provincial elections would depend upon residence in a precinct of the province for not less than three months. Voter registration was specified in the draft by a requirement for each voter to register each year, in his local precinct, and obtain a registration certificate qualifying him to vote in all elections to be held during that year by any level of government.

After Holbrecht presented his draft of qualifications for uniform suffrage to the Group, there was no lack of discussion. Debate continued, but now it was based on the common ground of the draft's proposals. And other points, as Jan had expected, were revived and discussed in the light of the draft as an aftermath to the preparation of the draft, which kept the members of the team on common ground with which many were familiar.

Meanwhile, the Group proceeded to bring up, examine, debate and decide other issues. Achala, mindful that the future of any country lies in its young people, wanted to introduce the youth of Alpaca to the responsibility of citizenship and encourage them to share in government at a much younger age than is usually allowed. After all, he pointed out, many fundamental ideas in science and other fields were first formulated in the minds of persons under twenty years of age.

Members of the Team applauded the principle of channeling the boundless energy and laudable verve of youth into constructive endeavors. They recog-

nized that youth is a time for causes, and too often if young people are left on their own they will search out causes of doubtful value to champion.

Josef thought that citizens between 18 and 21 years of age might be given half the voting power of other voters as an offset to inexperience and possible poor judgment. Other Team members objected, however, that this plan would be an infringement on the principle of uniform suffrage.

In objecting to age being permitted to destroy uniformity of suffrage, Sir Gerald stated that "Susan B. Anthony with her votes for women had badly undermined the sacred right of suffrage and voting power of men who, after all, were responsible for the conduct of government free from irrational sentimentality."

In discussing the brave step of uniform suffrage, several of those consulted urged that, while of course confined mental cases would be denied the vote, sanity and educational tests should be imposed as qualifications for voting, but this proposal was rejected by others in whom Achala had the utmost confidence. In the end, the Plan Team decided against either an educational or a sanity test. They decided that the citizen's contribution to the government makes him a much more desirable voter than any grading which might be given him for what he is supposed to know.

Educational tests were taboo because they could be too easily manipulated by election officials to disfranchise some voters, and the tests could never be made uniform. It seemed to the Team that many of

the bad political decisions which have blackened human history have been made by the so-called "educated," whose minds have been warped and twisted by bookish theories which have no relationship to political reality. The Team early agreed that nowhere else can such abysmal ignorance be found as is displayed among the most highly educated.

On the other hand, many men and women with little formal schooling have shown a high degree of statesmanship. Betty Brown, prideful of their sex, told Mara of a wife who had taught her husband, who later became an able President of the USA, to read and write. They were also moved by the story of King Ibn Saud who could neither read nor write. Despite this fact, and against great odds, he succeeded in welding the flimsy warring tribes of a large part of Arabia into the fairly workable National entity of Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saud was said to have known literally hundreds of thousands of Arabs by name. Yet, under an educational test, he would have been deprived of a vote.

The Team also decided a lunacy test unnecessary and indeed wrong. In the first place, very few lunatics would attempt to vote. Mental patients who did would probably vote as sensibly as the average in suffrage countries have been voting in recent years. Any attempt by election officials to determine the sanity of voters would be cumbersome, a sure source of harmful publicity, and could create untold injustice.

Upholding the contrary, Josef Holbrecht declared there was an absolute necessity for a sanity test. He

contended that without this test the confidence of the electorate would be destroyed in that they could feel that their individual vote might be offset by the vote of a lunatic.

The Team heard and granted there was some merit to his contention, but further found that less than 10 per cent of the voters were mental cases; probably as few as one in 3 would ever go to the polls and, if they did, they would not represent a bloc vote but would vote as individuals, and in a runoff could be expected to vote about 50 per cent for each of two candidates. There would be probably as few as one in twenty from what some would consider a normal sanity.

This mental case vote might represent the balance in power in as few as *one in a thousand elections*. To further consider their competency in voting, it is well known that persons affected mentally are not necessarily unwise because with their aberration they develop a sixth sense which gives them an insight beyond that of the normal person who has the usual five senses of perception.

Sir Gerald Ripney here inserted a touch of British humor that drew a laugh from the Team and helped defeat the Holbrecht argument. He said that Josef should have included the uneducated and the insane in his selective suffrage plan by giving the unlucky in these categories one vote, other citizens two, which would serve his purpose as well as elimination.

The machinery for the Registration Board to judge who is and who is not sane enough to vote would be

cumbersome, slow, expensive, and the test or trial would result in needless adverse publicity to the unfortunate having mental trouble, and could result in long-lasting and great harm. The exercise of this test could bring the Judiciary into disrepute and, for Registrars and others, could result in a serious cause of action for denying a person the right to vote.

With important provisions of the Plan beginning to get wrapped up, Achala, happy with the progress which had been made, realized that construction, development, and industrialization were in the offing for Alpaca. This would become a new and unknown factor with which a new government in Alpaca would soon be required to deal. The relative rights of the investor, management and labor must be anticipated and placed in position where they could be adjudged.

Few on the Plan Team, except Bob and Betty Brown, could be expected to come up with reliable information and helpful ideas regarding labor. Through Sir Gerald, Achala learned of the intensive study made by Jim Welsh, a canny young Scot, grandson of a noted labor leader famous in the annals of labor history. Achala contacted Welsh and found him to be a clear, revolutionary thinker who believed that if the laboring man were protected from the hardships and indignities which could be often heaped upon him, the attitude of Labor would never become one which would menace government, upset the economy and work a hardship on the general public. Welsh and Achala agreed that, if the problems of labor could be anticipated and solved

in advance, all other factors could easily adjust to their proper function.

Chapter 7

DELEGATE SYSTEM AND VACANCIES

GRADUALLY, as he assembled his facts and the shape of the needed Plan took form in his mind, Achala concluded that the Constitution must be one peculiarly fitted to a small, compact country like Alpaca with its kind, simple people and its predominantly agricultural economy. Manifestly it might not apply to a larger and more diversified national life. Having thus delineated his subject, Achala decided that the answer to "The Man" in Alpaca was a Constitution which would make dictatorship impossible and extinct. This could be accomplished, he reasoned, if the form of government assigned to every citizen a reasonable part and function in the governing process. Where everyone participates, none can monopolize authority.

As Sir Gerald pointed out, in nations dominated by a state religion, the amount of the citizen's contribution to the Church decides his power. In Alpaca, the deciding factor would be his contribution to the government.

For purposes of voting and representation, all

Alpaca is divided into precincts,¹ each containing approximately 2,000 voters, with a vastly superior system for elections to any in use anywhere outside Alpaca, functioning as follows:

The voters of the precinct elect a Registration Board of three, for terms of twelve (12) years, one board member being elected every four years. The Board maintains a registration office where every citizen is required to register at the mutual convenience of the citizens and registrars within a prescribed time. Voting is not compulsory, but registration is.²

The Precinct Registration Boards, six months before the quadrennial elections, begin to accept nominations from any individual citizen for nominations to the delegateships to which the precinct is entitled, in the four respective categories: Executive, Legislative, Judicial and Military.³ One-third of the total number of delegates are elected every four years. The Board prepares the ballots on which appear the names of citizens receiving the requisite number of nomination proposals. Two elections are held—a first election, in which all names qualified by petition appear; and a run-off election two (2) weeks later, at which final choice is made between the two (2) receiving the highest vote in each category. Half of the delegates elected in all except the Military branch, are designated as Place 1 delegates, to fill local or regional offices. The other half, as Place 2 delegates, become members of the college of dele-

¹ Art. I, Sec. 2

² Art. I, Sec. 3

³ Art. I, Sec. 4

gates from this and other nearby precincts, up to the number of 300.⁴

Delegates from a precinct are chosen to become a part of and form a college of 300 or fewer delegates from nearby precincts. This is the beginning of a pyramidal system of colleges of delegates. The first college will elect delegates, half of whom will be Place 1 delegates to fill the unfilled offices within the area which the college represents and elect the other half as Place 2 delegates to proceed upward in the pyramidal system until the highest college has been formed. The highest college in each branch of government shall elect the highest officers in the land.

The number of delegates in the highest college shall not be confined to 300 and fewer delegates, as in the lower colleges but may contain a maximum of 400 and a minimum of 101 delegates. This departure in number in the highest college from the usual number of delegates in the lower college, is necessary to meet the changes which will take place in population numbers. Otherwise the delegates in the highest college might be so few in number that they would not be considered a proper body to carry out the all-important duty of choosing the highest officers in the land.

The elections in the first college would be held one month after the precinct elections and this lapse of time would be carried out in sequence throughout the elections in the pyramidal system of colleges.

⁴ Art. I, Sec. 5

The voting in precincts may be by closed ballot or voting machine, but all voting in the colleges of delegates shall be of record disclosing the vote of each delegate. A delegate in one branch may serve in the same branch of government in as many delegate positions as he is elected to hold.

This system of delegation of voting power to keep those who vote in position to vote within their reasonable acquaintance is a vastly superior system for elections to any in use anywhere outside Alpaca. In order to retain equality at all times, each delegate casts the vote of the combined registered voting power of the area he represents.⁵

Citizens who attained positions high or low were not required to have been the greatest loud promoters, exhorters, orators, tireless campaigners or thick-skinned survivors of smear campaigns.

Members of their families could carry on as though there had been no campaign, instead of furiously picking their way about with heads hung in shame. Should they have been the most glib and adroit, this quality availed them not, for the sweet somethings for nothing they could have promised are still intact, on hand and remain part of the wonderful heritage of the land they love.

They were not called upon to promise away the best assets of their home land to make a successful campaign, for they had been elected by those who personally knew them or have friends who knew them, in a tranquil weighing of the best against the

⁵ Art. I, Sec. 4

second best and not in a stampede of hysteria. There is nothing to keep them from being reliable Patriots whom their fellow men have hired to serve them and to whom they have pledged their faithful service.

There was more than one reason why rank and file voters were willing to delegate their voting power to another. Many of them decided that they could find someone better informed than they in the Executive branch, someone in the Legislative branch, someone in the Judicial branch, and someone in the Military branch. The voter was acquainted with persons who had often given a large part of their lives to study of the branch of government to which they were devoted.

Bob Brown recalled spending several hours in getting to the polling place and waiting in line to vote. Conscientiously he discovered in dismay that he had convictions sufficient for him to exercise a choice in only three of forty-two offices to be filled in the election. He made up his mind that he would know more about what he was doing the next time he went to vote. He reasoned that it would be much easier for him and many others to delegate their voting power to someone whom they knew had taken time to better qualify himself as to the merit of the candidates.

Bob and Betty contributed this choice morsel. Newsweek Magazine, August 18, 1958, published the story of its representative in Bob's home town, Detroit, on the eve of the primary there, asking 14 voters did they think that William Jennings Bryan would win the next day. William Jennings Bryan

had been dead about 33 years. He, the Great Commoner, had been three times a major party's candidate for President of the USA. Seven of the fourteen questioned thought he would win, but were a little uncertain as to the office for which he was running. Betty thought this story laughable, while Bob was inclined to be solemn about it, and their listeners in Europe were frankly shocked.

This was a conclusive argument in favor of the voter's delegating his voting power to a person within his circle of acquaintance, who in turn would exercise the delegated power with specific knowledge.

The Plan for Alpaca provided that each branch of Government would elect a Vacancy Committee to serve only their branch of government. The wisdom of the Vacancy Committee was easily sold to Achala and Mara. Antonio was one of the strongest advocates of this provision. When a vacancy occurs it is the cessation in office of someone chosen by the Alpacan people, for the branch of government in which it occurs, through its elective processes, even if the vacancy is in an office which has been filled by appointment. It is then fitting and proper that the vacancy for the vacancy period, and that is until the next election, should be filled by Committeemen chosen for that particular purpose. In the Vacancy Committee is reposed the confidence of the electorate of Alpaca and this wise arrangement can probably be found nowhere else in the world.⁶

Vacancies following death or from any other

⁶ Art. I, Sec. 7

causes, without regard to the branch of Government in which they have occurred, have been filled by appointment by someone of the Executive Department, often by the head. The choice of an appointee to fill a vacancy has been subject to many considerations entirely unrelated to the capabilities of the appointee. Often the appointment to fill a vacancy was tendered to a friend, often as an honorary gesture, more often with a view of the effect the appointment would have on some race in the next general election.

These were among the matters that received the close attention of Achala and his fellow-workers. The plan Team had grown to goodly proportions, composed of persons from different walks of life. The Team functioned in a unique way, partly because of the diversity of residence and nationality, with no attempt made to convene the Team for group discussions in which so very little is accomplished considering the amount of brain-power involved.

It was the early conception in the Alpaca Plan that dissemination of information and opinion should be largely confined to the printed word, or word of mouth between two, or at most a few, individuals. In this way, the Plan Team functioned. Any one of them who felt he or she had anything worthwhile to report to Achala or Mara willingly accepted the thesis that if they knew their subject they could write it in concise form. They were happy to reach headquarters or other members of the team with whom they were acquainted with letters or copies of

letters which constituted their thinking on a given subject.

Bob and Betty Brown likened these reports to a procedure of which they had heard carried on by the "Committees of Correspondence" which were started by Sam Adams in Boston, in November, 1772, and soon extending throughout New England, Virginia and other parts of the colonies led up to the plans for and the successful conduct of the War for Independence. The correspondence comprised a series of letters passed back and forth between different leaders in the colonies and proved to be a reliable means of keeping up contact between the great free men and at the same time in keeping the spark of patriotism aglow. Little was heard of the "Committees of Correspondence" but it became a historic institution in the story of the winning of independence for the colonies and the success of the early life of the Republic. The success of the "Committees of Correspondence" is a powerful testimonial in favor of the written or printed word as compared with the spoken word.

The Plan Team's operation consisted of less talk and more thinking, without any attempt on the part of one member of the loosely knit Team to sway the judgment of other members willing to work to improve a way of life at a remote place where none, except Achala and Mara, had any hope of participation.

Jim Welsh was a very astute thinker and more than did his part in supplying the ideas which the Team finally adopted to secure for the wage earner

definite rights, protections, and privileges practically unheard-of anywhere else in the world outside this little country. Uppermost in his mind was the thought that every wage earner must have an opportunity to advance to as high station in life as his abilities might merit. He resolved that he would maintain contact with the Team and did until many of his life-time ambitions to obtain the utmost in rights and opportunities for wage earners were incorporated in the Alpaca Plan.

Chapter 8

ALPACANS STUDY THE PLAN

THE HANI FAMILY were apart from the Achala family in that they were a more commercial clan and, while not opportunists, they were careful to refrain from alienating leaders of government in Alpaca, or any other country in which they transacted business.

The Hanis were not pro-dictator; they only wanted to get along, and would welcome any change in government as long as it was for the better, and would tolerate any change of government even if it were for the worse.

Mara, who had studied music abroad and entered on a brilliant career, was the apple of their eye. They preferred to think of her as their own and were not elated with her romance. They did recognize the Achalas for their fine traits, and all that they learned of the distinguished Juan Achala, they came to accept in his favor.

Mara was very influential with them as she began electioneering or propagandizing them in favor of the Alpaca plan. Following the marriage, to which the elder Hanis voiced no objection, they quietly but

unmistakably began leaning toward a reform in government. A great advantage could come from their unofficial espousal of governmental reforms. The extreme practicability which was a part of the Hani nature was of inestimable value in effecting the reforms. They studied the Constitution, as one by one the provisions were sent by Mara from Europe, keeping uppermost in their minds the workability of its provisions, weighing the ease against the difficulty with which they could be effectuated.

They conveyed to Mara the glad word, which she passed on to Achala, that the Hanis could be counted on but asked that the information be handled confidentially.

An increasing number of people in Alpaca, regardless of the state of literacy, were now studying the Plan and its various provisions, as the Team sent drafts to Alpaca. In this great national discussion, people turned to the printed word rather than the oratorical demagogue. Literate Alpacans read the Plan to those who could not read, and innumerable small groups, always numbering fewer than 700 permitted by the Plan if adopted, met together to study and discuss the provisions in which they were most interested.

Considerable resistance in the Alpaca discussion groups to the delegation of voting power sprang up. Many declared that in cases where officers had duties only in the precinct, it would be preferable to vote for them directly instead of through delegates. It was argued that since citizens dealt directly with such officials, they should elect them directly.

This called for a close study of the flexibility of their right.

They learned that, with a two-thirds majority vote, they could amend the Constitution as to their precinct, and vote directly to fill the offices within the precinct and if they did not like the change they could, with a simple majority, vote to return to the method provided in the Constitution.

The Senate consists of three Senators from each of the forty (40) legislative districts, each casting the aggregate voting power of his district. In Alpaca there is only one house in the Legislature—the unicameral system, as in Nebraska, USA, and elsewhere. This Legislative body considers legislation on its merit instead of being influenced by thought of what the other house may do where there is an upper and lower house. In Alpaca the legislators are free from the President's displeasure since the veto power is vested in a legislative veto board of three experienced legislators or statesmen with no "must" axes to grind and with no favors to withhold or to grant. One house can transact the legislative duties in half the time required by two houses. The veto power being vested in the Legislative Branch maintains the desired separation of the branches of government about which so much is heard and so little found.⁷

The ineligibility to succeed himself precludes the Senator from starting a campaign for re-election the day he is elected to his high position of trust.

A senatorial district has all of Alpaca from which

⁷ Art. II, Secs. 1, 2, 3

to choose in electing its Senator and has no reason to select a soliciting, favor-seeking missionary for whatever "pork" he can bring home. Antonio Da Vinci, of all persons, supplied the information that the choice of a legislator from outside the district he would represent was a legal and common practice in England. Sir Gerald, when reached, quickly confirmed and expanded Antonio's statement. Combined with the investigations which had gone on before, this late advice was conclusive. An added incentive was furnished by Bob Brown, who pointed out that, while in practice, it is a dead issue, nothing in the U.S.A. Constitution requires a member of the lower house of Congress to be a resident of the District from which he is elected.

The Senate shall exercise diligence in keeping its Chairmanship filled as the chairman has many important duties of cooperation with other branches of government, but he would be relieved of the irksome duties arising from the conduct of sessions by being permitted to employ trained personnel, presiding officers, parliamentarians, *et cetera*, who are not elected members but possess the particular qualifications which better enable them to serve in their capacities than could the elected members. The special personnel, employed to assist in expediting sessions, are limited to individuals of 70 or less years, so that the post would never become an honorary sinecure, manned by citizens beyond the age of high competency.

The rotation imposed for the Chairmanship precludes the buildup of the indispensable legislative

man—a national idol able to destroy the government and the populace. Similar safeguards are set up in all other branches of the Government of Alpaca.

The true independence of the branches of government from each other, aside from occasional coordination through the National Policy Committee, has already become apparent. The Precinct delegates and candidates have the opportunity to specialize and devote their time and study to the particular branch of Government to which they are chiefly attracted. The things they have found out and their general knowledge are naturally and constantly communicated to their acquaintances, which results in an ever-increasing study of government and an informed and thinking people who, as they unselfishly learn the score, become intolerant of all dishonesty in government, intellectual or financial, and intolerant of pettifoggery, sham, deceit, sharp practices and subterfuge. Of their own knowledge the people will come to detect the counterfeit, the demagogue, the crank, the incompetent, and learn to respect the dependable, the prudent, and to form sound opinions as to the wisdom of the wise. The vital habit of vigilance is incubated by this entire process for all involved.

The independence of the Legislative Branch, which has steadily been undermined throughout the world by encroachment from the Executive Branch, and recently from the Judicial Branch, is amply protected in Alpaca. Other national figures attaining super roles in other branches of government, including the Military, might be under temptation to jeop-

ardize the independence of the Legislative Branch were it not for the fact that they are wisely restrained and held in their place by provision of the Alpaca Plan.

The Legislative Branch itself also would hold in check its members and popular leaders to prevent them from reaching an undue prestige which would endanger the other branches of Alpacan government, including the Military. The safeguard is accomplished through rotation whereby no one in a top position in the Legislative or other branch of government is permitted to remain in his position long enough to build a personal following which might tempt him to seize Alpaca and exercise a dictatorial rule by man instead of the rule by law.

The Legislative Veto Board, having vital duties other than its right to veto laws enacted by the Senate, provides a throne of statesmanship to be found nowhere else in the world. The greatest of all former Senators, as well as Executives, Diplomats, Generals and Judges, could look forward to being elevated to such outstanding position, as long as they retained their utmost capacity and competency.⁸

The fewest laws, if adequate, make possible the finest legal structure. The judiciary and lawyers can best know the law when it is least complicated. The lay citizen desiring to be law-abiding has the best chance to fulfill his desire when there are fewer laws to be obeyed. The greatest of statesmen have re-

⁸ Art. II, Sec. 3

peatedly pointed out, "The best governed are the least governed."

With the twelve (12) year review of existing legislation, obsolete and redundant legislative enactments no longer clutter up the law books to confuse the Alpacan mind. Among the laws of highly civilized nations today could probably be found stern legislative acts to curb witchcraft and voodooism, in the thoroughly enforceable form, should public opinion become narrow-minded enough to require their enforcement.⁹

The work of some who contributed fine thinking and became nearly invaluable members of the Team can be credited to Mara. There were some whom Achala could not enlist, great as was his winning personality and enthusiastic spirit. One of these was M. Andre Marchillon, the tax genius. Achala early heard of him and went to see him at his Versailles home, where he lived in retirement.

M. Marchillon listened with mild interest to Achala's enthusiastic narrative—it may have been amused interest. Alpaca meant little or nothing to this great Frenchman, who had repeatedly come to grips with the greatest tax problems of the greatest states and nations. He could easily understand the populace structure, visualize its people, but hardly knew where Alpaca was or why it was imperative that it have a new government. He could have asked himself, "But what shell of a country does not need a new body?"

But when the tax question became the uppermost

⁹ Art. II, Sec. 4

problem of the Team, and when Mara, in Paris, knowing of M. Marchillon, called him on the 'phone, his interest in Alpaca took on an entirely different color. He was anxious to see for himself the parcel of femininity to which that mesmerizing voice was attached. After asking a few simple questions and finding there was no simple-mindedness in the answers, but vast understanding and great sweetness, he hurriedly invited Mara to drive over to see him. In answer to Mara's question "Whom shall I bring with me?" he dimly recalled the young man who, weeks before, had attempted to talk to him about Alpaca. He learned from Mara this young man's name and graciously extended an invitation—"If Achala can come, please bring him with you."

Only a short visit of the three completely changed the course of Marchillon's thinking and gave him a new attitude. He told Achala and Mara, "I have always wanted to outline a perfect tax structure but there has never been any reason for me to do so because it would never have been accepted by any country I have been called upon to serve." He added, "This is entirely another situation. You, with your friends you have been telling me about, can do anything. You can accomplish the impossible and get something done right because it is right—simply an unheard-of occurrence in the annals of history."

The next day Marchillon was in Paris early, where he had access to actuary, statistical, clerical, and secretarial help, available to him at his call because of his known greatness and fine sincerity.

M. Marchillon proceeded at first with the Keyne-

sian Theory propounded by Lord John Maynard Keynes, Director of the Bank of England until 1946, who dominated economic thinking after the Versailles Peace Treaty Conference at the end of World War I. Achala listened with rapt attention to the easy command of this great authority on the tax subject but found it difficult to follow the intricate thinking of Marchillon. He interrupted this great tax man to ask one very simple question.

"Do I understand, sir, that the raising of taxes necessarily has a deflationary effect?" M. Marchillon was on the verge of assuring this earnest young man with a question mark in his voice that such was the case, when suddenly a blank expression came over his face and to his own surprise found himself replying, "That may not be necessarily true. I thank you for raising the point; let us think this out together, let us see if it is often true or is ever true. I am beginning to see there can be a side that the best in our field have been overlooking."

He fell into deep thought and silence, which Achala did not interrupt, and in a few minutes M. Marchillon began talking continuously as though he were thinking aloud, which led those present to this summation:

A reasonable constancy of the value of the monetary unit is essential for national existence. Seldom, if ever, has the departure from the first established value of the unit been towards deflation. Deflation cannot destroy the value of a nation's money and inflation, unless sensibly held within restraint, must inevitably destroy it and destroy the nation.

Inflation is caused when there is more money and credit than goods, resulting in high prices and a decrease in the value of the monetary unit; deflation occurs in reverse. Conventional economists supposed that by imposing higher taxes, purchasing power would be decreased, and deflation, or lower prices, would result. But these economists were better acquainted with distribution than with production. They did not foresee the adverse effect which higher taxes would have upon production. As followers of the Keynesian theory of managed currency, they supposed that any economic problem could be solved merely by increasing or decreasing the monetary supply.

In countries which have adopted this remedy of higher taxes to halt inflation, the result has been more inflation. Higher taxes absorb some purchasing power, but they increase all costs of doing business, in production, transportation and distribution and again more high taxes on the resulting higher taxed product. This results in higher prices for everything, the very condition which higher taxes are intended to prevent. In every instance where this supposed remedy has been applied, higher taxes have become a self-feeding fire, increasing inflation. Another unexpected result was that higher taxes lowered the value of money, so that a given sum of money paid fewer taxes. In devising the tax structure for Alpaca, M. Marchillon took into account these unfortunate experiences of other countries who had tampered with their economies by using such

poorly thought-out measures, and had reaped disastrous results.

From his vast experience and ability to think, he soon produced a tax structure which took into account all of the foibles of human nature familiar to him and all that he could anticipate.

After Achala's question to M. Marchillon had touched off a completely new trend of thought in working out the tax structure, the members of the Team regarded him with new respect.

After they had been advised by Marchillon, a new approach to the subject of taxation was made by decision of the Team, that tax limits, maximum and minimum, be specifically defined in the Constitution.

A table was presented in the Plan which not only guided and circumscribed the taxing power of the Senate, but also specified the avenues of taxation and their limits, pointed out the amount of taxation which can be imposed by the Senate to defray the costs of national existence, and defined the tax provisions for school districts, municipalities and special districts which could be set up, in the event that the acts establishing the special districts called for revenue from usual tax sources. Here arises a subject of such major importance, and so complicated, that the table of tax limits provided in the Constitution is herewith reproduced for convenient study.

The Senate shall establish an equitable and uniform system of taxation. The combined total of all taxes, national, school, municipal or special district except head tax and occupancy tax provided in Article II, Section 10 and Section

12, to prevent confiscation, shall be contained within the percentages of valuation as follows:

1. Annual Property Tax—fixed rate between $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
2. Import Tax—variable rate between 0% and 100%, depending on article
3. Export Tax—variable rate between 0% and 50%, depending on article
4. Severance Tax on Natural Resources—variable rate between 0% and 30%, depending on article
5. Gift Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 15%
6. Inheritance Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%
7. Production or Manufacturing Tax—a fixed rate on each article
 - (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%
 - (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%
8. Income Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%
9. Sales Tax—a fixed rate on each article
 - (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%
 - (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%
10. Franchise Tax—fixed rate of 0% to 2% of volume of business

Tax exemptions for charitable and educational purposes have become a racket in many lands, because the charities frequently fall into the hands of enemies of Freedom who have skillfully gained control of charitable foundations and their assets, and the philanthropies of individuals, and who then direct the expenditures and distribution of these funds for the purpose of destroying or limiting human liberties; therefore, Achala proposed that these exemptions should be prescribed and curtailed.

In Alpaca, tax exemptions would not be permitted on any property owned or used by the Government; on property, resources or income used in philanthropies of any nature, except solely for advancing medical science, care of the sick, and public enlightenment to promote personal initiative and individual liberty. Contributions by individuals to religious institutions or through these to programs meeting these qualifications would be deductible up to thirty (30) per cent of the donor's income. The Constitution adequately identifies a religion to preclude an inventive pretense for tax purposes.

It was realized that assessing and collecting of taxes can become a nuisance to tax-collecting authorities as well as the taxpayer, if the amount collected is little more than the cost of its collection. Therefore, the wise provision was included that the assessments shall not be made against taxpayers of certain classes during the time that the cost of processing and collecting the tax from them would exceed 50% of the revenue to be collected. Behind the provision was the thought that the tax bite itself is

obnoxious enough to the payee, and should be to those whose duty is to impose it, so that the pain of the bite should not be increased unnecessarily.

The tax provisions also banned withholding taxes, to be deducted from the payroll by the employer. The reasoning behind this stipulation was as follows:

Big taxes encourage overbearing and despoiling government, and government has been and always will be destructive to human liberty. Deductions from the payroll are a vicious tax, because they are so convenient to use in exacting a tax from the most modestly situated of the citizenry. If such withholding does not arouse resentment in the taxpayer, it is because it has become an invisible tax. The submissive taxpayer, broken to the yoke, soon learns to accept such withholding from his pay without protest, or if he resents it, he attributes it to the malice or oppression of his employer. The employer is made to appear a skinflint. He is forced into the role of an unwilling tax collector, and in the eyes of his employees he seems to be a sweatshop keeper or worse, no matter how excellent his record of upright citizenship.

While it may be thought ridiculous that it is necessary for the Constitution to recite that tax money shall not be assessed or spent except for authorized purposes, the Team felt that it should be included. Only the circumvention of constitutional government, written or unwritten, prevailing in highly civilized countries makes such recitals have any sense whatsoever.

Chapter 9

ROMANCE

TEAM MEMBERS devoted so much time, thought, and energy to the engrossing task of ushering in a new era for Alpaca, that Sir Gerald, one day conferring with Achala and Mara, astonished them by suddenly laying down his pen, leaning back in his chair and saying, dramatically:

"Even Jove nods! Why shouldn't mortals relax occasionally?"

Achala smiled. "You mean we've been working too steadily?"

"Positively so!" Sir Gerald assured him with emphasis. "This strain is too absolutely terrific. Are we Platos, or are we not? I suggest that we pick up the Lady Arifa and go to Maxim's for refreshment and refueling, don't you know!"

"Dear Sir Gerald," said Mara soothingly. "A cup of coffee at a sidewalk cafe would do me worlds of good. I like to breathe the fresh air, watch the people go by."

So the four of them followed this suggestion. They fell to wondering as they watched strange faces, the shy and the bold, the gay and the sad, how many of

these folk were informed; of those informed, which were constructives and which held liberalism as their goal.

"I think," said Mara, making a dainty choice from a dish of delicacies, "that France is a very lovable country. While I was here as a student, it hurt me to feel the very ground quake under my feet with every change of administration."

"At that time, Mara dear, you were thinking more about modulations from key to key," remarked Lady Arifa, who looked trim and complacent, having adapted speedily to her new role in life.

Mara contended, "I thought about both. Now that I am gaining better perspective, I long to be of use in stabilizing our own Alpacan government."

Her husband looked at her with pride, realizing anew the many bright facets of her personality.

Lady Arifa took a letter from her handbag, saying, "Mara, this is for you. It came to the old address." Mara scanned it quickly. "Just another offer from an agent. Let me examine the postmark."

"That reminds me," said Achala, "the next section we shall discuss is to be the postal system in Alpaca."

The constitutional draft, as Achala sent it to Alpaca, contained the interesting provision that the Senate could, if it believed it would benefit the nation, contract out the Alpaca postal system to privately owned companies.¹⁰

Some of Achala's advisors had constantly urged for nationalization of various industrial activities.

¹⁰ Art. II, Sec. 6

One of the questions they used as a clinching argument was, "How could postal systems be operated if governments did not do it?" Achala's apt answer was, it has never been proved that government should not let contracts to private enterprises, to attain the most efficient and economical conduct of the postal service. It has been repeatedly proved, throughout the world, that private ownership in one industry after another is more economical and efficient than government ownership and operation. In spite of improved air service, government subsidies to airlines and all the vast technological improvements which have become available to transmission of mail in recent years, the postal service in many countries is constantly deteriorating. It often takes nearly twice as long for the addressee to receive a letter as the transmission of such a letter required only a few years ago, and the cost of postage required is constantly being stepped up.

Impatient with hearing thoughtless expressions frequently repeated, Josef said to Achala, "There is too much printed matter going through the mails anyway. If people would only read! The things they hear only mislead them—the things they read they can look over twice, or several times, if needed. How can we get people to read? In the course of human events they even fail to read their insurance policies for which they have paid. They will not read the fine lines and find out what is in the policies upon which they are depending when the time of travail and misfortune arrives." Achala, resourceful though he was, had no sure cure to offer.

In addition to the Senate's duty to provide the control of crime, to adopt rules of criminal procedure, and to regulate foreign commerce, Achala's draft further requires that the Senate appropriate adequate funds for the military and other governmental bodies. This requirement precludes any attempt by the Senate to control or dominate the military, a department which must always remain free from the dictate or control of any one branch of the government. The Team realized that constant vigil should be exercised against the possibility that a "strong man" in the government might use the military to seize control and to break up the system of checks and balances so adequately provided in the Constitution, and against any attempt of such a "strong man," either self-righteously or selfishly, to assume dictatorial power over the people.

In the Plan, Achala had accepted M. Marchillon's admonition that the economy should not be tied to the gold standard. The Plan instead provides that the currency should be redeemable in wheat, rice and other commodities; in other words, a commodity Pack rather than a gold Pack. Governmental obligations are held to a fixed valuation at home, but at three-year intervals, or longer, they could be changed to conform with world inflation or deflation. The redemption pledge in commodities affords definite values, whereas if the currency were redeemable in gold, necessity might require the temporary abandonment of the gold standard, and such an expediency could become permanent.¹¹

¹¹ Art. II, Sec. 7

For ages there were vital uses for gold, nearly all of which have been supplanted as a result of improved metallurgy, use of plastics and other materials; but as far as known, people will continue to wish and will need to eat.

The Team proposed that the Government make available designated redemption points where Packs in the form of currency could be converted into commodities, within twenty days of notice given by the holders of the currency. The 1/100th to 1/4th subdivisions of the Pack are in coin, redeemable only in paper Pack and not in commodities.

The quality of Alpacan citizenship was zealously guarded in the Plan. The Senate was clothed with the responsibility of enacting laws regulating immigration, with rules for the naturalization of self-supporting aliens who lawfully reside in Alpaca. The need of the requirement that aliens be self-supporting and law abiding has become increasingly recognized throughout the world. It was provided that the naturalized Alpacan citizen must forego allegiance to any foreign country, the penalty for failure being revocation of Alpacan citizenship and deportation. Should acts of treason to Alpaca be proved, the prescribed penalty for treason takes precedence over deportation.¹²

Mara, not yet divorced from the atmosphere of art, recalled stray words and happenings in her recent experience, which deepened the channel of her work in the Plan.

¹² Art. II, Sec. 8

She had been interested in the places where it was expected her career would lead her. There was the chance remark by an agent from the great Opera House in Buenos Aires. He had made a study of the situation and assured her that the illegal aliens scattered throughout the world are numbered in the millions. They are often hosts to or sometimes become part and parcel of a Fifth Column, infiltrating many countries as agents for aggressor nations; they are to be found residing or "visiting" in strategic places. They are there to practice espionage; to entice and enlist gullibles and dupes; they consort with intellectuals to build and join subtle organizations intended to pave the way for the overthrow of their host government. These organizations assume the most patriotic names in the nation and are generally announced to be of a charitable nature. They are planned so that the highly civic-minded easily fall for them. When the appropriate moment shall arrive in the minds of the master planners, they will be ready to help deliver the *coup de grace*. They are the bitter fruit of unrestricted immigration and carelessly administered immigration laws.

Moreover, as Mara reflected in a flash of analysis, there are in all these countries native sons and daughters of impeccable reputation and vast resources, with fanatical philosophies which make them traitors to their homelands, to whom the aliens look for crafty guidance. These strangely-minded citizens work up into high positions in public relations, public affairs, education and religion. Under them, and sometimes with them, the aliens toil indefatigably

for the national ruin and the ruin of all that these queer citizens are supposed to hold dear.

Truly, thought she, to oppose such misguided fanatics is better even than to sing the music of Mozart and Verdi. In line with Mara's views, the Constitution places the Senate under mandate to regulate the residence and potential citizenship of aliens and makes Alpaca citizens abroad subject to the Nation's laws until citizenship is relinquished.

The special requirements of local government are also provided. Situations might arise in which the residents of some areas might seek a special law applicable only to that area. The Senate would give consideration to the need for such special legislation which would have to conform to the law of Alpaca. If granted, it would be in effect a National Law for a specific area and become effective only after a majority vote of acceptance by the Precinct Legislative Delegates representing that area.¹³

The need for the creation of such districts, perhaps in a river valley or a forest range, is difficult to foresee in advance of a request for them. The situation would be simple in handling if it did not involve special and additional taxes. When such a step would be deemed necessary, in the judgment of the Legislators, the creation of a Special District could be constitutional.

No nation is stronger than the educational system which trains its future citizenry. Provision is made in the Plan for compulsory education for children

from six through 14 years of age, and the parents and guardians are held responsible for each child's attendance. The six-year age minimum is subject to an exception suggested by the recognized success of the Maria Montessori method. If children of three and four years in kindergarten can pass examinations that evidence qualification to enter grades with children of over five years, their parents have the right to place them in such higher grades. The plan for school elections and taxes necessary to maintain schools is provided in conformity with the laws of Alpaca, with school officials directly concerned with each school in charge of policies, administration, control and raising of the necessary funds. The government makes the requirement that the annual salary of teachers and instructors in the educational field shall exceed by thirty per cent the highest average pay of the best paid unskilled hourly or per diem wage earner in the area. The latter is a wise provision to overcome the inadequate pay for teachers which prevails throughout the world.¹⁴

Teachers exercise a great influence in the lives of the young, and unless teachers thrive in an atmosphere of freedom, they can develop a dangerous complex: preferring that freedom be cast aside and that individual liberty be subjugated in favor of any ism which holds out to them a false hope for a higher station in life. Free governments must be zealous in tangibly bringing home to the teachers that the achievement of a better life for themselves

¹³ Art. II, Sec. 9

¹⁴ Art. II, Secs. 10, 11

under free institutions is more than an empty distant promise.

The provision for local government was implicit. It was specified that municipalities must first look for support to occupancy and franchise taxes. Should these prove inadequate, they can then draw upon the unused portions of taxes provided for national government and schools in the same order that they are provided in the tax table. It may be that the first use of income taxes and sales taxes will arise in municipal taxation.¹⁵

¹⁵ Art. II, Sec. 12

Chapter 10

THE EXECUTIVE TRIUMVIRATE

ACHALA AND MARA had quizzed Jim Welsh, the Browns, Antonio, and other teammates on the subject of which they were themselves least familiar. They knew employees but in a different status from that generally spoken of as "Labor." As a result of their studies they proposed something entirely new in the field of labor thought.

Working has always been a means of sustenance. The application of effort in some form today remains a necessity for life except for those with inherited and accumulated fortunes. Except for the rich, the individual without the right to work has no actual rights and can even, through circumstances, be deprived of the right to life. Achala framed his provisions under these premises.¹⁶

The enforceable legal rights provided wage earners were them, in fact, all of the rights which demagogues and malefactors can picture for them through bold and false promises. The sacred right to work is guaranteed each citizen, and the Senate shall enact

¹⁶ Art. II, Sec. 13

proper legislation providing for the enforcement of legal rights for wage-earning persons, providing these rights from employers: disability pay for injuries; vacations with pay; to accept bonuses from employers when offered; to be paid the Wage and Hour Commission minimum wage, and to accept for better workmanship or greater efficiency higher pay than the average wage for the same tasks; to be afforded healthful working conditions together with recreational and entertainment facilities; to freedom from abuse by word or deed; to be free from paying a fee to the employers or any other person or organization as a condition for obtaining and continuing a job. The Senate is precluded from attempting to endow the wage earner with rights which are impractical of fulfillment, such as a property right in his job, a right to take over his employer's property, or to force the employer to guarantee a wage in the future whether or not the employee works. Unemployment insurance also falls within this class. These enforceable legal rights for a wage worker would not provide the protection they do were it not for the fact that the worker has easy and inexpensive access to labor courts, where his rights can be adjudicated and enforced. This also protects the employer from being forced to suspend his activities at the whim of others, and at the same time insures to the wage earner his vital right to quit a job in orderly procedure.

The privilege of an employee to terminate his job is provided in the Constitution, and this sacred right to quit work cannot be taken away from him in the

guise of a violation of the public welfare, or in the name of "national emergency" as has occurred frequently in ancient and modern countries. To protect this right, the Constitution provides that the only requirement for an employee to quit is to give the employer notice, which the employer must honor by naming the time of termination, at the minimum of 8 per cent each day of the total staff of the employer at the date of notice or in any event within 14 days from the receipt of notice. The employer shall give a preference for length of service in apportioning the time of termination from the employees from whom he has received notice of their desire to quit. Without this protection to the wage earner, Alpaca could become, for many, a land of peonage.

The stature of a people may be judged by their concern for their sick. The greatest humanitarians with whom Achala and Mara talked were concerned over the problem of ample hospitalization for the sick. A program was sought which could make Alpaca a great health center, while avoiding welfare-state practices and nationalization of the medical profession. It was finally decided that the government should accredit non-governmental hospitals and should build additional facilities for the care of the sick, ample to care for ten per cent in excess of the average number of sick, when and where needed, and furnish these facilities free of cost to the most efficient organizations or staffs which can be found to operate and maintain them. These organizations may be medical associations, charitable bodies, or concerns operating with profit as their

motive.¹⁷ The custodians of the hospitals will make proper charges against those who can pay or have other arrangements for paying their hospital expenses, and will extend a reasonable amount of charity. Care is taken to avoid the nationalizing of the medical profession, which has been tried and proved a failure in many lands.

Quite naturally, Mara, more than anyone else of the Plan Team, was concerned with the fate of orphans. After a great amount of discussion the simplest provisions seemed to be the best, and these were briefly but adequately set forth in Section 15:

The Senate shall enact legislation providing for appropriate facilities for the care of orphans and adoption procedures and agencies for all orphans.¹⁸

Achala and Mara found that all with whom they talked showed a deep interest in the role which government might play in business. It was decided to keep the government out of competition with private business and to keep government holdings at the lowest level possible. Private citizens have the right to sue the government for losses which they suffer at the hands of the government, when the government pre-empts from them property which they need and should be permitted to own.¹⁹

Rules for the operation of the Senate were included in the Plan. The Senate is required to function in a workmanlike manner and to avoid the clos-

¹⁷ Art. II, Sec. 14

¹⁸ Art. II, Sec. 15

¹⁹ Art. II, Sec. 16

ing legislative log jams that have become an undignified procedure in legislative halls throughout the world, offering a temptation for some members to make trades and deals for the support of one measure in order to obtain support for another. The Chairman of the Senate shall impose cloture, limiting each member to two hours of speech, debate or time taken by him interrupting other speakers in considering a legislative act. Actual results and majority rule subject to veto are much better than delaying tactics and stagnation. A final vote is required on each measure within ten days after it comes to the Senate floor. These arrangements represent a more advanced approach to the enactment of legislation than has been achieved in any other nation.²⁰

When an emergency meeting of the Senate is needed, the discretionary power to call the members into special session is lodged in the Chairman of the Senate, or the National Policy Committee. Regular sessions are called by the Chairman.

Achala had been so impressed by the evils of bureaucracy abroad that he persuaded his co-workers to declare war against bureaucracy in Alpaca. He knew, from his study of history that the excessive and cancerous growth of bureaucracy had weakened or destroyed many governments, especially the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century, and later on other countries which inherited the methods of the Byzantine bureaucracy. The Byzantine Empire had lasted for twelve centuries which was longer

²⁰ Art. II, Secs. 17, 18

than any other empire in the history of the world, yet in the end it was devoured by bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is a self-created and self-perpetuated malignancy which continues to grow at the expense of the constructive elements of the nation, until at last it chokes off and destroys orderly process. The Plan Team effected safeguards against the evils of bureaucracy by the provisions requiring the termination after eighteen months of all bureaus set up on a temporary basis and providing that the usefulness of permanent bureaus be subject to constant review and check-up, with requirement that they be dismantled when feasible. Alpaca could not hope to endure for long without Section 20.²¹

Suffrage for women had been agreed upon from the very start. To clarify the property rights of the wife, Section 21 was agreed upon, closely following the best-working community property ownership laws which could be found in the experience of other nations.²²

The organization of the Executive Department confronted the Team with probably their most difficult decision. The presidential office in all republics, or democracies, has always offered a danger spot from which ambitious men could step out of bounds and into dictatorship. It was decided to set up an Executive Triumvirate limiting the President of Alpaca to a status as annual head of the Triumvirate, the other two members being First and Second

²¹ Art. II, Sec. 20

²² Art. II, Sec. 21

Assistants. It had frequently been said and proved that the presidency is too big a job for one man; that it is a killer; that it requires seclusion and protection which destroys the common touch. Although these truths have been recognized since the days of ancient Roma, no logical effort has been made to do anything about it until the Plan of the present Alpaca.²³

Alpaca's solution went to the heart of the Chief Executive problem. The President's burdens are lightened by the presence of two assistants, each performing some of his functions, and at the same time preparing to take over the duties of President at the end of either one or two years. They may preside or sit in at Cabinet sessions, grant audiences to the key men in the Executive Branch, study budgets, and assist the President in all matters. The people are fortunate at all times in having elected representatives in these vital positions.

Through this imaginative conception, Alpaca finds adequate protection against the emergence of the indispensable man. Herein lies the extreme danger of a sole national leader becoming a popular idol who, building up a blind following, could destroy the nation and its people, or nullify the precepts which they hold dear: as had happened in Germany, Italy and many other places where otherwise happiness would abound.

The Chief Executive is more prone than the head of any other department to form "kitchen cabinets,"

²³ Art. III, Sec. 1

to enjoy court jesters, and to permit the building of a coterie of favorites, often spoken of as the "insiders." In this agglomeration may be found mistaken idealists, large or small grafters, or some one all-powerful intimate, even a Rasputin.

A helpful team member, stolid, thrifty Hans Kyle from Bonn, volunteered this interesting story. He had taken upon himself a study of the sway of Rasputin and gave Achala and Mara a recital of the activities of this unbelievable character.

Rasputin is not to be described as the typical favorite of an Executive, but of interest as an extreme case. He was a discredited, almost illiterate Greek Orthodox monk, who claimed sometimes to be divinely inspired and was shrewd enough to maintain such evil influence on the ruler of the country that a whisper or a hint from him became law.

Rasputin proved to be very tenacious; he outlived an attempt to poison him with a strong dose of potassium cyanide in wine. On December 17, 1916, three months before the regime he had brought into disrepute was overthrown, he was finally liquidated, being shot, stabbed, and then submerged in a river, by a group of noblemen.

It became increasingly apparent that the damage Rasputin had done was beyond repair and the centuries-old Tsarist regime crumbled and fell, never to be restored.

State Executives have seldom gone so far as to use, or be used by, a Rasputin. But the power of intimates is often allowed to exceed their own. Hans' face wore a very worried expression as he declared solemnly:

"Too often such favorites are selected because of whim or because they have some irregular or abnormal characteristics. Few have gone down in history as good influences; in the large majority of cases the control they exert is bad and detrimental to the nation which the Executive, however chosen, is pledged to serve to the best of his ability and wise judgment."

If suffering mortals could have only had unexcitable or unpopular leaders who were kept in office simply because they were doing a good job, the Triumvirate system of Alpaca would still be needed, but not so urgently. It is a foolproof system. Should the presidency somehow go to a complete misfit, the Nation would still have a workable team of three (3) who could care for the imperative executive duties until a reluctant Investigating Committee and Vacancy Board, forced to deal with the top office, would be able to correct the mistake and replace the misfit.

Chapter 11

THE JUDICIARY

SWITZERLAND has proved at least twice in the past 44 years that there is no leader wise enough to decide which war his country should get into. It is interesting to ask, by the way, who is well enough posted to remember who was the national leader of that complacent, prosperous country from 1914 to 1918 and from 1938 to 1945. Remember? You do not remember. Over-advertised national heroes are often dangerous and expensive luxuries.

The Team early became aware that its members and those whom they visited all thought that they were quite well informed about the Government of Switzerland, but in trying to answer a few simple questions were forced to admit that they knew very little about it. They decided that the same is probably true of the general public throughout the world. In their embarrassment they turned to their good Swiss friend, Emil Strube. As usual, he proved extremely helpful by contributing his views as to the relevance of Swiss measures to the Alpaca plan.

Switzerland began taking form August 1, 1291, as a defensive league. In 1798, under the influence of

France, it became the Helvetic Republic. Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1803, in the Act of Mediation, installed a new Constitution and increased the Cantons to 19 in number. In 1815, the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain and Sweden. In 1848, a new Constitution was passed without foreign interference. Alpacans can hope that this same freedom will come true for them. This in turn was, in 1874, superseded by the Constitution which is now in force. It may be revised either by federal legislation with compulsory referendum or upon the demand of 50,000 voters, a majority both of the citizens voting and of the Cantons. Constitutions, to endure, must be subject to amendments. It occurred to Emil that the Team could improve this provision for Alpaca. The Supreme legislative authority of Switzerland is vested in a Parliament of two Houses, the first composed of 44 members chosen by the Cantons, now twenty-two in number; the mode of election and term depending on the Canton. The 196 members of the second House are chosen in a direct election, each for four years at the rate of one deputy for every 24,000 people. Every male citizen, 21 years or older, is entitled to vote and any voter not a clergyman may be elected a deputy.

Laws passed by both chambers may be vetoed by a "yes" or "no" referendum held at the request of 30,000 citizens of 8 Cantons. "Not nearly so good as our Plan," gently opined Emil.

Chief Executive authority is the Federal Council consisting of seven members, elected from seven

different Cantons for four years in a joint session of both chambers. Members of this Council may not hold any other office, or engage in any other calling or business. Federal Legislation may be introduced either by a member of either House or by the Federal Council. The President and the Vice President of the Federal Council, members of the Federal Council, are elected by the members of the Federal Assembly of both Houses by a joint vote for a term of one year and are ineligible to the same offices until after the expiration of another year. The Vice President may be and usually is elected to succeed the outgoing President. The President is, but not always, spoken of as President of the Swiss Confederation, leading some persons to sometimes think they have none. "The Alpaca Triumvirate and rotation plan is as good—only better," volunteered Emil.

The Federal Tribunal, which sits at Lausanne, consists of 26-28 members, with 11-13 supplementary judges, appointed by the Federal Assembly for six years and eligible for re-election; the President and Vice President, as such, hold office for two years and cannot be re-elected. These titles confuse the outsider's mind as to the Swiss National Presidency, or lack of it. Jurors are elected in many Cantons. This is a step in the right direction toward the trained commissioners sitting in with Judges to render decisions in Alpacan Courts.

Communes, ranging from fourteen up to a few thousand persons, comprise the Cantons.

The administration of the Swiss Army is partly in the hands of the Cantonal Authority, which can pro-

mote officers up to the rank of Captain. All the higher appointments are made by the Federal Government. In peacetime, the Swiss Army has no General; only in time of war the Federal Assembly appoints a full-time General.

Emil gently implied that the secret for peace was a widely based government, the presidency limited to one year, and the absence of any general in time of peace to promote a demand for military action. The Swiss attend to their own business and charge outsiders handsomely for attending to theirs. Switzerland has recently passed "welfare" laws, the outcome to be watched as in all other nations.

Achala and Mara had given much thought to the question of obtaining civil servants of the highest qualifications. They had rejected the concept of a Civil Service which, in highly advanced countries, has only too often degenerated into a device to freeze spiritless and mediocre employees into immovable job tenure. Civil Service in its operation is a continuing feeder to inflation, hotbed of inefficiency, and a national extravagance. The Team came up with the new concept of an Examining Board. The Examining Board screens prospective appointees to the Executive Branch of Government. It is elected by the delegates. The Chief of the Board has other important functions in the Government.²⁴

It is the duty of the Board to maintain close contact with graduates from high schools and colleges

²⁴ Art. III, Sec. 2

who have taken governmental training courses. It assists in keeping efficiency and background records of all applicants under consideration. The Board does not attempt to bind the elected executive in making his appointments, but should he make an improper or mistaken appointment, it has the authority to reject it.

Thus the Board exercises the confirmation authority which, in such a nation as the USA, is lodged in its upper House, where this august body has substantially abdicated its duties to reject appointments, and for all practical purposes has become a rubber stamp of the President of the USA. Differing from the USA the confirmation of appointments by the Executive is confined to the Executive Department, and the separation of the four branches of government is here as in all situations maintained in Alpaca.

The Plan has a fresh approach to the subject of treaties with foreign nations. It proposes the unique instrumentality of a Treaty Committee. Treaties become binding only when ratified by a majority of the Committee. Through this device, the President, in negotiating treaties, can be aware at all times whether or not the treaty he is contemplating will be ratified.²⁵

By such consultation with the Treaty Committee, whose members are the Chairman of the Senate, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Chief of the Examining Board of the Executive Department, Alpaca is able to attain stability in its foreign policy, and afford popular understanding of its purposes.

²⁵ Art. III, Sec. 3

This will forestall the evils which might come from Summit conferences with its little neighbors. The wise provision in this clause is that a treaty when consummated would not become a precedent in law, thus having little impact on domestic law. The need of limiting the treaty-making power of the Executive is thus avoided.

Young Victor of Belgium, who was a part-time wage earner, part-time student, and full-time thinker, learned of the Plan Team through Jim Welsh. Victor was concerned with the unemployment situation, or, as he preferred to discuss it, the full-time employment program. It served little purpose for the worker to look forward to full time if he were to be paid only a starvation wage. "FULL-TIME WITH A MINIMUM WAGE" was Victor's slogan, and his solicitude in this respect was not selfish, for he had no doubt that he would soon rise to a station wherein he would be unemployed, because he would be his own boss.²⁶

Through the report of Jim Welsh and Robert Brown, and Victor's thinking, Achala had reached a cure for "boom or bust" economy through the proposed Wage and Hour Commission, empowered to make a continuous study of the amount of work which is needed to be done and the number of workers available to do it. This Commission reports its findings to the National Policy Committee, which will issue directives for a prescribed number of hours as the work week. This enables the Policy Committee, effectively and simply, to prevent all abnormal unemployment.

²⁶ Art. III, Sec. 4

Such an elimination of unemployment will spread purchasing power uniformly, and this should prove to be the cure for all depressions without in any way jockeying with the value of the monetary unit or tinkering with credit. It will also make the need of unemployment insurance nil, for the work to be done is well spread among those who want to work. The National Policy Committee is empowered to set a minimum wage for males and minimum wage for females.

In case a national emergency should necessitate a considerable increase in the national work load, the work week could be lengthened by the National Policy Committee so that the available workers could get a greater amount of work performed, smoothly and adequately, without inflicting hardship on management, wage earners, and the public.

Achala and Mara, learning of punishments meted out in Paris to members of the Armed Forces of other nations stationed in France, were concerned for the future of the Alpaca military. They provided a provision giving legal protection to members of the Armed Forces serving on foreign soil.²⁷ They were actuated by the belief that if servicemen are not to be protected, they should not be asked to serve. Failure to act promptly whenever possible, when Alpacas' rights are violated in other countries, would make the laughing stock of the Armed Forces and discredit the nation's integrity.

In dealing with the Judicial Branch of the govern-

²⁷ Art. III, Sec. 5

ment the Team was advised by Orlando Tasso, the Italian authority on International Law. They set up a Supreme Court of nine Justices, making them responsible for the establishment and assigning of duties of lower courts without delegating to the Supreme Court authority to name those who would serve in the lower courts. The Chief Justice, being one of the highest officials of the Alpacan Government, would be limited to serving as Chief Justice for a period of two years, and, although continuing on the Court, he would be ineligible to serve as Chief Justice again until the lapse of one year. All members of the Supreme Court, other than the initial members, must have had previous judicial experience for they would be required to have previously served as judges in courts for a period of four years before.²⁸

In the place of the usual jury system in the lower courts, the Plan provides a system of two elected Commissioners who act as associates with the judge hearing cases and in rendering verdicts, all of which would be subject to appeal. Judges of the National Courts and two Commissioners simultaneously elected could render unanimous, or two to one verdicts, and if none of the three should agree, the three alone would be empowered to render the verdicts, all verdicts being subject to appeal.²⁹ Provision was made for labor judges to afford commissions, either employees or employers, easy and

Art. IV, Secs. 1, 2
Art. IV, Sec. 3

inexpensive hearings as to the right of the complainants, the verdict being subject to appeal. The procedures have been described in the discussion of Article II, Section 13.⁸⁰

The Team dispensed with the time-honored right of the defendant to a trial by a presumably impartial jury of his peers. Many European and South American countries, as well as the USA, had adopted the jury system as the cornerstone of justice. However, the use of juries in these countries is slightly waning. The Jury System is expensive and slow, and jury duty is regarded as very onerous by most citizens who are asked to serve. The best of the panel summoned are usually challenged by attorneys for defendants and seldom accepted to hear a case; hence, few of the jurors eventually chosen can clearly comprehend the evidence and the legal points involved. Among the large number of jurors, a few become targets to "fix" through influence or the object of attempted bribery for the purpose of "hanging the jury." In Alpaca, the two commissioners, sitting with the judge in hearing and deciding a case, are known to possess legal knowledge, as they are elected by the delegates who in turn have been chosen by the people for their aptitude in the legal branch, and the verdict is subject to appeal. The procedures have been described in the discussion of Article II, Section 13. Jurors are elective in some Swiss Cantons.

The Supreme Court is required to establish Appellate Courts composed of three elected judges.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Art. IV, Sec. 4

⁸¹ Art. IV, Sec. 5

Seven Supreme Court affirmative votes are required to declare an Act of the Senate unconstitutional and six affirmative votes are required to nullify actions taken by the Executive. The Constitution can be amended only as provided in Article VI. This curbs the court from attempting to enact legislation by judicial decree, and contains the unusual provision that if the Supreme Court is uncertain of the Senate's intent in enacting a law, it is proper for the Court to request the Senate to enact new legislation clarifying its intent. The Supreme Court is not permitted to decide the intent of the Senate.⁸²

⁸² Art. IV, Sec. 6

Chapter 12

MILITARY AND SENIORITY

THOSE DRAFTING the Plan were highly concerned with the Military Branch of the Government. After long study, they reached the following conclusions: To make the office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, in which all branches of the Military are united, a rotating position. The Commander-in-Chief can serve only two consecutive years. This is a precaution to prevent his development into a national hero whose accumulated prestige could do great harm. He is responsible for the Armed Forces, but is subordinate to the National Policy Committee, composed of the President, Chief Justice and Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board. The arrangement gives security against the danger that the Commander-in-Chief get out of hand or divert the military into the hands of some other over-ambitious "strong man" in government.

The Commander-in-Chief and the National Policy Committee conduct foreign military actions, but in addition must secure the consent of the Chairman of the Senate to use military forces to police internal areas.⁸³

The military delegates would be apart from the

⁸³ Art. V, Sec. 2

general electoral machinery of Alpaca. The intent of the military delegate system is to prevent the officers of the armed forces from becoming an autonomous power, parallel to the civilian government, which could be manipulated by unscrupulous government heads to destroy the Constitution. The history of most dictatorships and tyrannies is a chronicle of usurpation of authority by a military power above and beyond the law.

Alpaca's way of dealing with this danger is to interpose civilian influence in the intermediate and highest ranks of the officer corps, in addition to short-term rotation of the head of the military command. In the Alpaca army, the three top officers are elected by the highest college of military delegates.

The office of Commander-in-Chief rotates among the three at intervals of two years. In top policy matters the Commander-in-Chief is responsible, not to the Executive, as in other countries, but to the National Policy Committee, which represents all three government branches.

Below the top rank, all offices above that of Captain are filled by vote of the military delegates, with the exception of divisional commanders and top staff members, who are named by the Commander-in-Chief. Lower officers and non-commissioned officers ranging upward from Corporal to Captain, or equivalent, are named by the intermediate officers. Thus the civilian voice is decisively heard in the total conduct of the armed forces. The composition of the military delegates, as far as possible, differs from the composition of the other delegate groups. Preferably,

ex-servicemen and present members of the armed forces are elected to such delegateships, although civilians with knowledge of military affairs will be sought for nomination. As an added safeguard against army usurpation, the Plan bars members of the armed forces from holding any other post in the government. With a few specified exceptions, military officers serve without limit as long as they are able.

Volunteers will be accepted and conscription used when necessary, with equal pay for both. If the Nation should find it necessary to appropriate private property, the owner will be reimbursed for full value. Large military establishments will not be maintained, since in modern warfares scientists are more important than numbers. The slingshot, crossbow, rifle, machinegun and heavy artillery are outmoded. The men who could be killed by opposing forces are not needed. New devices are so destructive that lengthy war, in its historical form, is probably a thing of the past.⁸⁴

Achala's proposed method of promptly amending the Constitution is a guarantee against ill-considered action. Amendments may be submitted by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, or by a unanimous vote of the National Policy Committee. They would become effective when approved by a two-thirds vote of all delegates chosen in the precinct at the next general election or at a special election held within two years of submission.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Art. V, Sec. 4

⁸⁵ Art. VI, Sec. 1

The Team gave much thought to the question of abuses in the operation of government. They felt that investigation and publicity were not enough if the investigating body did not have the power of dismissal. Accordingly, they proposed the election of an investigating committee of nine by the top college of each branch of government.⁸⁶ Such a committee, they felt, thanks to its permanent character, will function more efficiently than the sporadic investigations carried on by the British "Royal Commissions" or the investigating sub-committees of the USA Congress. Their findings will carry convincing prestige. These are responsible committees with authority to suspend the occupant of any position. Such a Committee, with its broad powers, could become a vicious body. However, since the committees are composed of highly intelligent, high-minded men, chosen by responsible delegates, it is unthinkable that they will have any incentive to suspend or remove any person unjustly from a position. Moreover, such injustice would have to be perpetrated in connivance with the Vacancy Committee, also elective, which would have the sole power to fill the vacancy they had created. The supposition that two small bodies, so carefully chosen, would go off the beam simultaneously and join each other in an act in violation of the confidence which had been placed in them, is extremely unlikely.

In the earlier discussion of Article I, Section 8, the reasons for adopting the Vacancy Committee plan

⁸⁶ Art. VII, Sec. 1

and its procedure have pointed up the wisdom of this provision.

Penalties of imprisonment for three or more years, or death, are provided for acts of treason.⁸⁷

The Plan declared that anyone being paid funds from the government, including salaried personnel, would not be deemed innocent until proved guilty, and would be discontinued from governmental activities upon substantial charges until such time as their innocence has been proved. This develops one of the finest thoughts to be found in the Constitution. This provision, had it been in force in other countries, would have prevented the horrors of an official carrying on acts of treason even after becoming suspected of subversion.⁸⁸

Some of Achala's elders had impressed upon him that the citizenry generally may not in their productive years situate themselves favorably for their life in their advanced years. After exhausting all available information on the subject, the Team drafted a uniform seniority payment provision as a substitute for the Social Security racket in many countries.

All citizens become beneficiaries of the government at the age of 66, without taking a poverty oath and regardless of their financial status. Citizens who do not need these payments will no doubt waive them and be granted two (2) additional votes in exercising their suffrage by doing so. Retirement payments to elected officials become payable at the conclusion

⁸⁷ Art. VII, Sec. 2

⁸⁸ Art. VII, Sec. 3

of an honorable term of 8 or more years. Two-thirds of the salary which they received when active should be sufficient to make them independent. This liberal retirement pay removes all temptation when in office to violate their oath of office. Should they waive the retirement pay, they are entitled to two (2) additional votes in Precinct elections. Retirement payments preclude the recipient from being accredited with any seniority payments. Should a citizen, drawing a salary while serving in an official position, decide to waive fifty per cent (50%) or more of his salary, he is granted two (2) additional votes.

The voters in possession of accelerated voting power, by virtue of such waivers, should be the best type possible. Their governmental service enables them to know government, and in the act of waiving their salaries or payments, they will have exhibited a brand of real patriotism which is assurance of their conscientiousness and honor as voters.

Frugality with Alpaca's funds will always be practiced and encouraged. In accordance with this policy, it is provided that those who are called upon to assist the elected officers in the conduct of elections will be paid on a per diem basis during the time they actually work. Citizens receiving indigent and infirm payments from the government will have no vote.⁸⁹

Those offering themselves for office, or willing to accept office, are required to renounce their membership in political parties or participation in thought groups. They may declare their policies and furnish

⁸⁹ Art. VIII, Sec. 1

their qualifications in written form, but they will be pledged to make no promises to any person or group, except in their oath of office. They are pledged to discharge their duties and do whatever seems to them best, when the time for decision or action shall arise.⁴⁰

The holders of office are forbidden to use their prestige and influence to raise funds from private sources for memorials or any other institutions. While they hold public office they are required to return all gifts above purely nominal value, from any person; and are forbidden to accept gifts of large value from any group of persons.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Art. VIII, Sec. 2

⁴¹ Art. VIII, Sec. 3

Chapter 13

SUFFRAGE

AT LAST THE time had come to resolve the most important question of all: whether Alpaca would have uniform or selective suffrage. All along this question had been the subject of intense and sometimes excited discussion.

During these Team conversations Sir Gerald Ripney had pointed out that precedents for selective voting power as compared with uniform suffrage had been set by nations dominated by a state religion. In such nations, said Sir Gerald, the citizen's voting power is decided by his contributions to the religious institution.

Jan Wauskoski, the aggressive and near-belligerent Polish student of government, was outspoken from the start for a graduated system of selective suffrage. Jan saw the answer to dictatorship in this system. He insisted that the usual "one man, one vote" practice drags the nation following it into demagoguery, demoralization and finally, in extreme instances, to complete abdication of power by the people with the surrender of property, liberty, even life itself, to a "boss."

Achala, listening to the heated conversation of the others and approaching his own conclusion, thought Jan's most likely convert was Antonio Da Vinci, a young Italian who brought to the Group sessions his superb heritage of vision and imagination, qualities which impressed them all. His mind had amazing scope for one so young, and his light-heartedness was a surprising contrast to the depth of his thinking. Excitable and peppery, he was sought out and enjoyed both for the quality of his conversation and for the stimulus he afforded.

Antonio saw some merit in Jan's contention and rather admired his courage in sticking to it. But like many optimists, Antonio prided himself on being able to define, then trying to achieve, the possible. He found amusement in Jan's frustration when confronted with the fixed opinions of the Team.

"Even if you are right," he needled Jan good-naturedly, "you don't have a chance!"

Jan also had an ally of sorts in Josef Holbrecht, who early had made known his advocacy of a limited form of suffrage—one which confined differentiations in voting power to situations in which one person had a greater stake than another. He held out for equal voting power on issues in which all had an equal stake, such as arrest and conviction for crime, privileges of the use of streets and highways, and the like. Jan, on the other hand, thought democracy could best be safeguarded by vesting control in those elements of society which could be trusted to espouse order over chaos, reason over selfish emotion. He foresaw potential mass envy of individual success

endangering the stability of government and sought to forestall the ultimate result of such envy—government expropriation of private property—by providing adequate controls to prevent it.

His views were largely opposed in the beginning. Members of the Group had studied and discussed many governments which ranged from unpopular to tyrannical—and their youthful idealism envisioned the one vote of each citizen as the ultimate weapon to overcome all government ills. That the common people are all too frequently unreasoning, as Wauskoski contended, they would not concede.

Bob and Betty Brown in particular opposed Jan's ideas. Both were convinced that uniform suffrage was the fundamental reason for their country's remarkable success as a living experiment.

"Our system," Bob explained, "was worked out between two great documents—the original Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the Constitution of 1787 in which our present government was set up. The Declaration stated without ifs, ands and buts that all men are created equal. The United States of America has gone on from there."

"Well," broke in Antonio, who was well read in American history, "I seem to recall that when the present United States government was launched in 1789 on the basis of that 1787 Constitution, the country had a very substantial slave population that was neither regarded as equal nor allowed to vote. That condition existed for practically seven decades. Even when the slaves were freed, there was no equality in

voting power; and, judging from the rumblings from your country, the situation still exists."

"Yes," Jan broke in. "And you have many others ineligible to vote, minors, non-citizens not yet naturalized, those who have forfeited citizenship rights, others disqualified by state laws. Also, until very recently you had compulsory poll tax in some states, and the non-payers could not vote. Is this what you call uniform suffrage?"

Bob was unruffled. "What you say is true. But the inequities in our system are gradually being eliminated. We don't say our way is perfect. But it works, and we're making it better all the time."

"In most respects, yes," broke in Sir Gerald, who usually remained aloof from argument but often had a pertinent quote from history. "But way back in 1857 Lord Macaulay read your Constitution and said your country would degenerate 'as soon as the people learn they can vote themselves largess from the public treasury by electing unscrupulous politicians.' Isn't that what's happening?"

"Of course not!" Betty said indignantly. But Achala noted that both she and Bob looked thoughtful.

All this pro and con talk had the blessing of Achala, who could see considerable room for argument. He contrived opportunities for both advocates and critics of uniform suffrage to explain their views to as many of the Team as practical. He was seeking facts with which to formulate truth, rather than a middle-of-the-road solution. Compromisers, in his view, lacked the courage of their convictions. He welcomed the hard line with no punches pulled. He

saw no place for appeasers in the planning for his homeland.

Jan, wooing Antonio as a potential convert to his view, played on the latter's very dim view of the United Nations. Since the organization of this tribunal dedicated to freedom from fear and oppression, Antonio pointed out to anyone who would listen, fifty million souls per year have been lost to the slave world to be ruled by communist dictators, with the rate still going up.

"The free world," Antonio would say, "is lately losing at the rate of 80,000 people per hour for a 40-hour week."

Jan struck a telling blow for selective suffrage by casually reminding Antonio of the parallel in the UN's equality voting system. A tiny new nation, even though it may be composed of ignorant savages and cannibals incapable of governing themselves, has equal vote with all other UN members, even on propositions affecting the largest and most enlightened nations. A bloc of such small nations, representing much less than 10 per cent of the world's population, can outvote all the others. Only the veto, retained by a few of the original large members, intervenes to prevent chaos; and the veto carries no guarantee of wise usage.

Achala could see that Antonio's conviction was shaken by Jan's description of the UN system of suffrage, which was probably formulated by Alger Hiss.

The time came when a final decision had to be

made. All members were present and alertly interested as Achala opened the discussion.

"One important matter you may not have considered," he began, "is that we are not dealing in theory. We are dealing with Alpaca, and Alpaca differs greatly from any of the countries with which you are familiar. Ours is an agricultural country, without the benefit to education that industry brings. We don't have a great number of people of approximately the same educational level as do your countries. Alpaca has a very few who are well educated and many who have no education whatever.

"The plan we submit will have to be approved by the nation as a whole. But first it will have to be read to all those unable to read it for themselves, and explained to all who cannot understand it. We are dependent on the educated few to instruct the masses. How can we persuade the upper classes to help us build a Republic such as our government if they are to be mere peons in it? And how can we expect the masses to exercise their citizenship intelligently if they are dependent on others for their understanding? Where there is uniform suffrage, one vote per person, the masses run the government. Well and good—if they can! But in actuality, the masses have often proved they are incapable. I fear they would prove so in Alpaca. We cannot be sure they will always take their advice from public-spirited citizens.

"I believe Jan is right," Achala continued firmly. "Uniform suffrage, for Alpaca, is the road to dictator-

ship. Graduated suffrage is the alternative to the indispensable man and a dictatorship."

"But this in itself creates a ruling class!" some objected.

"There is necessarily a ruling class in *any* government," Achala replied. "But the graduated voting system, which gives greater voting power to those who make the greatest contribution to their country, produces a responsible, nation-minded ruling class instead of one that can be easily corrupted."

"Until the radio inflicted the airways clown on us as a political oracle," Sir Gerald remarked, "there was a political ruling class in all self-governing countries. This was the class of the readers—people who kept themselves well informed, so much so that their advice was sought and often followed by those who were less enlightened, sufficiently to decide any close election. The employer, the shopkeeper, the preacher, the teacher, and the doctor had equal voting power in theory, but in actuality they controlled the choice of enough additional voters to bring about a higher order of political intelligence than prevails in the radio and TV age, when people no longer seek their advice."

"Which means," Achala added, "that the graduated system of suffrage is better. It perpetuates the voting power of those who are currently contributing the greatest amount to the welfare of their country, rather than making it possible for one selfish group or one individual to stay in power. I'm not saying that ruling classes can't be unsatisfactory. They usually are. But that's no reason for surrendering

power to the least informed in despair of finding any better ruling group."

"Control by a class selected solely on the basis of service to the nation will unquestionably produce a superior political system. Besides, this plan can be adopted only with the consent of the people themselves. They can, if they wish, use the uniform suffrage system. But I know my people, and I think they will choose to honor their leading citizens with greater voting power and will have greater confidence in their government, knowing it is in the hands of those who have the nation's welfare at heart."

Even Bob and Betty were now swinging over to the idea of selective suffrage. "After our last discussion," Betty confessed, "we remembered that there are elections where only the property owners vote on bond issues, since they are the ones who would be called on to pay off the bonds."

"Graduated suffrage makes sense," Bob added. "A citizen's sense of responsibility rises in direct ratio to his contribution. I know from my own experience that if he has a direct stake in government and its spending, it gives him an alertness and caution in the exercise of his citizenship that you just don't find in the non-taxpayer or the very small taxpayer. The more taxes I pay, the less I like the government to waste it in handouts. What you're doing in Alpaca is vesting such decisions in the hands of those who give to the government rather than those interested only in what they can get from the treasury."

"That's the way any efficient corporation operates," commented Emil. "The larger the stockholder, the

greater his voting power. If those with a single share of stock got control, they would bankrupt the corporation just voting themselves dividends."

Achala looked about the room. Agreement was complete. Now they had only to decide who would sit in judgment on relative voting power and on what basis additional votes would be awarded. The Group concluded that this decision as well as all others relative to voting, would be vested in the efficient and informed elected Precinct Board of Registrars already decided on.

The citizen claiming additional voting power must submit proof to the board of his contributions to the country that entitle him to extra vote or votes. Such records are kept confidential. On the basis of information submitted and the board's findings, the board announces the number of votes to which each precinct citizen is entitled. The total of this vote constitutes the collective vote of the precinct.⁴²

Under the graduated voting system, voting age is attained at 18, with no maximum age limit. Each citizen from 18 to 22 is entitled to one vote; all others to two. But the men and women who add substantially to the welfare of Alpaca have additional votes determined by the extent of their social contribution. These bonus votes are awarded in direct ratio to the individual's contribution to the nation. The vote of responsible citizens is thus sure to outweigh the vote of any irresponsible element which might be subject to manipulation and corruption by demagogic poli-

⁴² Art. IX

ticians, and self-government rests upon a secure foundation.

Premium votes are awarded as follows:

1. **PAYMENT OF TAXES:** Those citizens ranking among the first 25% of the direct national taxpayers of Alpaca for the previous year earn two additional votes; those in the second 25%, one additional vote.

2. **SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT:** Those ranking in the highest 25% of grade school, high school or college graduating class, based on a full year's attendance, earn one additional vote during the eight years following their last such scholastic achievement.

3. **WAIVER OF GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS:** Those waiving government retirement or seniority payments earn two additional votes; those waiving 50% or more of their government salaries are granted one additional vote. In addition, those waiving their previous year's total per diem payments are given one additional vote, provided the amount waived equals more than 10% of the average annual national salary for similar services or work.

4. **VOLUNTARY PAYMENT OF POLL TAX:** Citizens voluntarily paying a poll tax equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the average annual national salary earn one additional vote.

The Group was enthusiastic in its thinking that the bonus votes would generally be used to better the quality of government. The extent of the bonus vote and its impact on elections created a statistical field day for those who tried to satisfy themselves as to the exact balance of power accruing to those paying the most taxes. Their greatest concern was the type

person who would be paying the most taxes. Among the highest 25% would be the comparatively limited number who would be paying a very large part of the country's tax total. The Team reasoned that these people would be highly individualistic and would be most unlikely to see eye to eye on most issues, therefore did not constitute a hazard as far as pooling their votes was concerned. Their constructive thinking would be augmented by those in the second 25% of the taxpayers, and shaped into sound channels. This would minimize the possibility of "bloc" voting by those who paid little or no taxes.

It was recognized that it would be necessary for the government to provide a national table showing the amount of tax paid by those entitled to additional voting power. Showing the extent to which this group contributed to the general welfare would, the Group reasoned, further reduce the possibility of resentment by those who had only the normal vote.

The poll tax provision, it was agreed, was also based upon solid grounds of wisdom. Those who voluntarily pay a poll tax receive an additional vote. This mirrors a practice in very many nations where a poll tax is a requirement to qualify in voting. Also, the provision of additional votes to government employees who waive their salary or their per diem payment enriches the citizenship. Men and women who are so public-spirited that they are willing to make a personal sacrifice for the good of the nation make the finest type of voters. Certainly it is in the best interest of the nation that they cast a larger vote than those whose attitude toward the government is

simply predatory. Bob and Betty recalled the example of Herbert Hoover who, while President of the USA, declined to collect his salary.

The bonus votes for scholastic achievement were prompted by Achala's reminder of the deficiency of education in his country, and the need not only to stimulate interest in learning but also to encourage greater participation in government by those youths with the most to offer.

With deep satisfaction Achala told the group, "This is the best day's work we've done."

Chapter 14

PUBLIC DEBATE

THE PLAN TEAM which, ever since its inception, had included the eldest and wisest from the homeland, after a painstaking study of human experience and nearly endless comparison of different views, introduced into the Plan a radically new philosophy unknown in previous national Constitutions. They declared that debate between the principal world-wide opposing philosophies should be conducted without hysteria. Accordingly, they required that the presentation of points for either side be made in printed form in order that whatever is said will always be subject to review.⁴⁸

To one of the basic philosophies of the world they gave the name "Liberal." Liberals generally stress human rights above property rights and strive for progress free from precedent. Liberals' belief in Government is that it is a paternal Government which will guide and care for its population. Liberal adherents are noted for their enthusiasm and are ever-blooming hardy perennials.

⁴⁸ Art. VIII, Sec. 4

"Constructive" is the opposing philosophy. Constructives are staid and take pride in their stability. They are deliberative, prudent, protective and demand inviolate property rights and rule by law instead of man.

One of the most difficult duties of the Senate, as the Team contemplated it, was the requirement that it select Directors for each of the two thought groups to expound the virtues of their respective philosophies. It is difficult because they deal with indefinite and undefinable qualities. In the discharge of this function, the Senate must be wise beyond the ordinary conception of wisdom; and fair and just beyond nearly any other requirement in office. The Senate would be very guilty indeed, should it, in appointing Directors, put the most able exponents of one philosophy against sitting ducks of the rival philosophy, or place on the directorship of either thought group Directors who are not dedicated to the philosophy they are to represent, regardless of how good or how bad the philosophy may be in the minds of the Senators. In the discharge of this duty, the correctness of a philosophy is not within the power of the Senate to adjudge.

The Team enjoyed one of their most interesting talks in discussing the pros and cons of the two opposite philosophies of government.

During one of these discussions the subject of newspapers was raised, prompting Achala to ask, "How many daily newspapers per capita will Alpaca need in the near future?"

Hans Kyle qualified his answer:

"If it is a near-dictatorship, there will not be many daily papers needed, for there will not be much news nor much need for advertising. The outcome of primaries, elections, court decisions, and pending legislatures will be taken for granted and the government will tell the populace what they can and cannot buy. In the U.S.A., there is one daily per 100,000 people; in Czechoslovakia, one paper for 700,000; in Rumania, one for each 1,400,000; and in the Soviet Union, one for each 4,700,000 people. As for smaller countries, when Castro took over Cuba the number of dailies dropped from 55 down to 5 dailies. China is said to have a daily for each 85,000,000 people."

Achala was hoping for a republic with a high state of literacy. People who hope to govern themselves must be informed, and reliable newspaper coverage would afford them a high state of enlightenment when both the government and the people encouraged the communications media to be factual in news and fair in editorial policy. Unless Alpaca evades dictatorship, Achala thought, newsmen of the future would have dim prospects in his homeland.

Hans Kyle's ready information on the subject impressed Achala.

Members of the Team were certain that they had provided for one of the most important precepts for maintaining national harmony, in allowing proper outlets for open discussions of both the Liberal and the Constructive points of view. The members of the Team mentioned various collapsed governments of the past which might have continued to function had such a provision been made. It should have

been obvious to government leaders that attempts to choke off the presentation of the opposite philosophy could only lead the populace to attribute superior qualities to that philosophy which in fact it did not have. Overemphasis on either of the philosophies could be avoided, suggested Emil, by taking the discussion out of the realm of mass propaganda, where so much mischief has been done in the past. Consequently, the following plan was worked out.

The Constitution, as drafted, deplors the sacrifice of principles in order to attain a middle-of-the-road policy. Alpaca requires printed news media, published within its national boundaries, to make available a minimum of two per cent (2%) of printed space for the use of the authorized writing staffs for each of these thought groups. The chairman of the Senate appoints a committee of five (5) Senators to name five outstanding and capable advocates of the Liberal philosophy, and a Committee of five (5) Senators to name five outstanding advocates of the Constructive philosophy, to present their arguments to the public, printed daily. Freedom of the Press is guaranteed all citizens as well as the Right of Petition to government or its officials. Freedom of Speech is guaranteed but safeguarded under Section 4(b). Discussion of government affairs and persons is confined to printed media, precluded from radio, TV and the theater, and may not be voiced or pictured in public meetings which have an attendance of more than 700 persons. The purpose of this limitation is to prevent the illiterate or thoughtless from being aroused en masse to impulsively overcome soundly consid-

ered, responsible views expressed by the printed word. It was conceded by several of the Team that this would be a very unusual arrangement, but Achala reminded the others that some untried and unusual procedures were in order, inasmuch as the free world had lost a third of its population to the domination of dictators. It was conceded by all that this unusual presentation of the two different thought groups should be presented in printed form and the Alpaca Constitution should so provide. One member of the Team noted that a will and testament is valid only if in writing, in many countries.

The Team devoted much thought and many discussions to the necessity of avoiding "hate" propaganda in political news or anywhere else. They were in full agreement that any kind of hate was not only insidious in itself but was a waste of time as well.

"Hate is akin to oppression," Bob Brown summed up the general feeling. "Let's leave hate to the enemies of freedom."

Pertaining to non-governmental affairs, Freedom of Speech in the press and in other communication media, and entertainment in the theater, by radio, cinema, or TV, is guaranteed to all citizens of Alpaca; and the Senate is instructed to enact legislation to implement the maintenance of these freedoms by curbing monopoly of ownership, management, and dissemination of propaganda wherein one race or creed can assail other races or creeds, or one class assail another class. Provisions are made for encouragement of worship, while government-supported religion and religious tests for the holding of office

are prohibited. Witnesses shall not be required to testify against themselves; no person can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. A further provision is included which will be regarded as unusual in the face of recent treaties entered into between civilized nations: that any accused person in its military service may be tried in the military or civil courts of Alpaca but never in the military or civil courts of any foreign land. Every citizen would enjoy the right to a speedy, public and impartial trial with the assistance of counsel for defense of the accused; and the provision was included that no one is to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense. Security would be assured against unreasonable searches and seizures—century-old rights which are gradually being undermined in some countries. *Habeas Corpus* in Alpaca is not simply two high-sounding words, but a human right never in any case subject to suspension.⁴⁴

Provision is made that all bodies and committees shall perfect their own organizations in the most practical manner except as otherwise provided.⁴⁵

Achala, Mara and their friends, in order to avoid the inequities inherent in Civil Service organizations, decided to launch an experiment that will be decried by many as governmental aid leading to government control of education. It was provided that the government may maintain students in high school and college who will be particularly trained for service

in government. Students who have been thus favored will enjoy no priorities over non-graduates in appointments to public jobs, where the merit system must always prevail.⁴⁶

At last the day arrived when the long task of creating the new proposed Constitution was completed. The thinking people of Alpaca had been following Achala's and Mara's final work with mounting interest and excitement. As the new provisions, one by one, had been sent to the correspondents in Alpaca, they had been greeted with increasing enthusiasm and widespread discussion. The political atmosphere was prepared for the final document. When it was sent to Alpaca in complete form, the public began a debate which soon swept the nation. A few days later came the formal invitation to Achala and Mara to return home. It was signed by some of the most important names in Alpaca.

Their homecoming, joyous as it was to the voluntary exiles, was also an occasion of deep seriousness. The Team knew that the most critical time had now come. They had written a Constitution. It seemed to be acceptable to almost all the key people of the nation. But the country was unsettled by political turmoil. "The Man's" unsteady hands were still desperately clutching the levers of power. Could the Constitution become a reality?

As it turned out, any opposition which might have defeated their purpose quickly melted away. Public opinion was so overwhelmingly in favor of the funda-

⁴⁴ Art. VIII, Sec. 4

⁴⁵ Art. VIII, Sec. 5

⁴⁶ Art. VIII, Sec. 6

mental change proposed by the Constitution that "The Man" could not hold out against it. Tired and exhausted by the years of his disastrous rule, he dropped the helm. The friends of Achala and Mara were ready to pick it up.

Achala had not known what to expect from the Alpacan young people who had formerly been his merry companions in all sorts of recreation. Would they share the serious ideals which now governed his life, and Mara's?

He need not have doubted them, for they, within their limited sphere, had been observing, thinking, maturing. Far removed from centers of sophistication, they had not been corrupted by "new," brain-distorting tactics. With very few exceptions, they took pride in Achala's attainments and rallied to his support. As for Mara, she was received by them as an uncrowned queen whose word was law. This enthusiastic cooperation from the younger set carried considerable influence and augured well for the nation's future.

Achala was tremendously popular, and with the Alpacan tendency to idolize their leaders many began to look upon him as a near Messiah.

He was implored by many to become the head of the provisional government. Some who thought more impetuously declared that he should be made the ruler of Alpaca without waiting for any due process in the working of the Constitution. Achala promptly rejected both ideas. He firmly and repeatedly stated that he had worked to plan a government for Alpaca and not a government for himself.

Again and again he stated that his greatest pride and sense of accomplishment would be in being a plain and ordinary citizen of the new Alpaca and in experiencing at first hand the anxieties, trials, and tribulations, as well as the benefits, that the Constitution had brought to the lives of average citizens. It was difficult for him to convince the people of Alpaca that this was his wish and desire, but there were so many who knew of his sincerity and the sincerity of the Achalas before him that his attitude was finally accepted. It heightened the respect in which he was held and warmed his place in the hearts of his fellow countrymen.

Chapter 15

ACCEPTANCE

"MARA DEAREST, are you glad we're back in Alpaca?" her husband asked one evening, as they found themselves alone for awhile in the patio of their wisteria-shaded home in the capital city. With the mounting political excitement, such moments of detachment were rare.

She, humming a fragment from *Faust*, was arranging a long low table with baskets of scarlet hibiscus, and placing silver containers for the aromatic fruits and juices which were a product of the Hani estates and with which the families regaled their guests. Breaking off a blossoming sprig to twist in her hair, she replied lightly:

"Yes, yes, it is wonderful here—the people so cooperative, and fine prospects for our fondest hopes about to be realized."

"That's not quite what I meant, my precious one." Drawing her gently down to a garden seat beside him, he stroked her shining hair, and tenderly touched her cheek that was like a magnolia petal. "What matters to me is, are you happy in this en-

vironment, far from the glamour of music and theater? Does our dull life in Alpaca compensate for what you have forfeited?"

With a little rippling laugh, Mara looked at him, her luminous eyes so eloquent that words were scarcely needed. She said softly:

"Achala, my darling, don't be obtuse. Just think what you have given me instead of glamour. Most of your love. Your concentrated love and devotion."

"But is that enough, my diva?" he implored, out of the depths of his love and uncertainty. "After all, you have had the topmost connoisseurs of music at your feet. You were equipped to conquer the operatic world."

"And then you came along," she teased, tracing the curve of his brows with her fingers and smiling into his steadfast gaze. "You made me lose my sense of direction and brought me off on this long detour."

He still was self-reproachful. "My love for you, Mara, transcends even my love for our homeland and our plans for its freedom. I'm not sure that it can offset your great personal sacrifice. It tortures me to think that your loss may exceed your gain. Do you long to return to Europe and resume your promising career? Does not your talent constitute an obligation to the world of art?"

"Now aren't you the foolish one," she scolded, "to be here all solemn and brooding, counting losses, not gains? Unless," and a sudden anxiety showed in her expressive face, "unless my active participation in your work does somehow interfere with the Plan for realizing your ideas in government." Her hands fell

in her lap, clasped in uneasy gesture, and her mobile face was questioning. He said helplessly:

"You interfere? What a fantastic thought. You sustain me, you give me impetus, without you I should be fractional, incomplete—" He paused, unable to find words for his emotion.

"I just thought, because the women of our country are customarily restrained, seldom emerging from the background, except socially—" Mara left her sentence unfinished, trying to think through her perplexity.

"All the more reason they need an example, learn to come out from hiding and help men to solve the problems which vitally affect us all," he responded, but rather absently, for his attention was centered on Mara as an individual, not as an exemplar. "You are my very life, and yet I would give you up rather than mar your innate self, run the risk of trimming it to fit my own."

"On the contrary," she took him up quickly, "the realness of your love fulfills my life and self. Remember, I told you I was tired of the tinsel substitute which theater provides. Remember, I have loved you since I met you on the boat, and in my dreams before that time. Loved by you, Achala, my independent career is nothing, for I have everything."

"What you are saying I still can hardly believe," he said wonderingly, and then with swift intensity, "I wonder if you recall what 'everything' for us encompasses. Have you forgot that thrilling night when we drove across Paris and back, in a hired cab

but it transported us to the gates of paradise?" "And the moon was at the full, the sky cloudless, the city chained in slumber, so as not to interrupt!" he exclaimed, her face again radiant.

"Yes," he said, kissing her upturned face, "the same old moon which now rises above the saw-toothed line of cedars on yonder mountain crest. And we haven't forgot, have we?—the sound of crashing waves against the Riviera beach, that night when the world stood still, and did not move at all?"

"Or the miracle," she rejoined, "of the first sunrise we watched together—that glorious sunrise that tinted the sky with all possible colors!" "I shall never forget," he assured her. "Or the way we pelted each other with hot sand, a few hours later, when the sun burned down on the stroke of noon."

"What happiness we have shared!" she said, entering his mood completely. "And shall continue to share! How can you ever doubt my happiness in the sharing?"

"It troubles me, though"—and a shade of his discontent returned—"that you have insisted on contributing financially to the travel expense of some of our team."

"On that point," she spoke with firmness in her voice, "I shall not even bother to argue with you. When you contribute one Pack, I contribute ten kilo, and we are partners all the way; and if I have to sell my diamonds I shall do it gladly—though I hardly expect that will be necessary, for the Hanis have been commercially minded since the dawn of time."

He bowed his head in defeat and pressed her hands to his lips. "Who, then," he murmured, "could possibly wish for more?"

"Just one more thing, perhaps," said Mara; her voice dropped to a whisper; and he noticed that her flawless skin reflected the glow of the hibiscus in her hair. "Because there really will be more. By the time Alpacans settle down to enjoyment of their new government—" she hesitated, and he prompted:

"Yes, yes, go on."

"I must tell you that I'll be having to take some time out for our own affairs, my Achala, so that we can make our really big contribution to the welfare of our country, and to the welfare of the big wide worshipful world."

Baffled, he shook his head smiling. So often did his unpredictable young wife leave him at a loss and mystified. He inquired indulgently:

"What then, sweetheart?"

"It is going to be something," she confided, while her eyes sparkled, "that will rub against your shoulder, like this. That will tug at your sleeve, like this. That will tug at your heart. That may become your greatest happiness and pride."

He exclaimed in awe and ecstasy:

"Oh, Mara, my precious, will that be part of your happiness?"

"Part of *our* happiness," she corrected; and fluttered away to conceal her confusion in warm welcoming of guests who just then began to arrive.

After a moment of fixed abstraction he joined her in greeting their friends, and it seemed to her sensi-

tive perception, throughout the evening, that Achala wore a new dignity and charm which sat well upon him.

And those who assembled there that night to discuss affairs of state were refreshed and invigorated by the contact. They went away feeling a confidence, an optimism, which radiated as never before from the Achala household, which would not let them falter or fail in their concerted efforts to build a better framework for their people and for posterity.

The Plan for government designed by the Plan Team, which now included other leading families of Alpaca, had been accepted when the draft of the Constitution reached them and was analyzed. Achala and Mara were delighted to be back and glad to work endlessly in assisting to familiarize the populace with it. It continued to be discussed and studied in Alpaca for many weeks.

A carefully and well-organized group, composed of the leading citizens, made tentative agreements with four men that each of them would head one of the four branches of the government. This would be a provisional government, formed for the purpose of getting the Plan formally adopted as the Constitution of Alpaca and its functions under way.

Each of the four was chosen for his experience and aptitude in the branch of government he would head, as well as for his integrity. These four Alpacan Patriots agreed to accept the positions offered and urged upon them, and it was agreed by each, and by the group who selected them, that they would serve on a temporary basis until they could be re-

placed by citizens elected to the high office and that their term of service would not exceed one year. They also made a pledge that they would not accept any position in the government of Alpaca within one year of the expiration of their term in the provisional government.

The close studies of the Plan had revealed some of the great difficulties to be encountered in putting it into operation. These hurdles became increasingly apparent with the continued study of its practical application. No stampede took place in favor of the Plan, and it was such a serious undertaking, with vast and lasting consequences, that no attempt was made to rush anyone into it. Speeches, such as had been made by Hitler, Mussolini, and ancient spellbinders quickly regimenting the populace of great countries, were frowned upon and were noticeably absent, for it was recognized that when the Plan became effective they would be taboo.

With many misgivings and a multitude of best wishes from people who thought they knew what they were doing, the Achala Team Plan was ratified by the provisional government and the national leaders who had selected them, and was formally adopted as the Constitution of Alpaca on the Thirteenth day of November, 1959, a day long to be remembered. When the Plan was adopted, Achala and Mara enjoyed a special thrill to which they had long been looking forward. They had dispatched a triumphant letter with thanks for their assistance to each member of the Team.

Contemplating the beginning of the new system,

Achala began to think of the future. A government permitting people to successfully govern themselves will become the most benevolent government ever known, he thought to himself. Certainly it will be the most peaceful. There will be no excuse for it to be an aggressor nation, for peoples in other lands will seek it out for fellowship, cooperation and, where practical, to share in its beneficence. There would be no desire on the part of other nations to attack it, for it would be valued more as a neutral than as a participant.

Self-government will at last be an actuality without oration, declaration, demagoguery, shouts and drum-beating. Instead, there will be the fire of patriotism of a people who are sovereign with the confidence gained through elevating the best-fitted to the highest positions in governing themselves. Idealistic?—no, for the Ideal through simplicity becomes real.

All knew that the first few years, in fact until the second general election, would be the hardest. Qualified personnel for the new branches of government, other than the Military, were scarce. Many who had been most effective in the struggle to get the Constitution adopted might be limited in executive ability when placed in responsible positions in government. As expected, there was a painful absence of administrative experience. They knew, however, that the success of the delegate system would save them from many of the growing pains of a new government.

Alpaca is fortunate in having a built-in system for weighing and studying the qualifications of its

elected officers. Selections are no longer popularity contests. Men with flashing smiles, with unctuous television or radio voices, with the ability to tell a well-turned joke, no longer are preferred candidates for election. The delegates seek conscientiously for the doer and for the citizen of solid work-horse qualities. Although frequently their choice falls upon men without experience, it invariably falls upon men of character and potentiality. They are men who can learn. Although the Constitution had provided an Investigating Committee in each branch of the Government to purge the government rolls of misfits and trouble-makers, it was surprising to all how seldom these committees were forced to act during these early weeks, which afforded the supreme test.

Alpacans were not really backward people; they had needed a spirit of confidence which in the past could not be justified in view of the instability of government. In spite of the lack of dependable government and in the absence of just laws honestly administered, Alpaca had been showing signs of industrial progress. There was no prejudice against it, since it represented a better way of doing something needed than had been known before. The rate of progress was quickened after it was learned that a new plan for government had been accepted. Investment money, long in hiding, began to make its reappearance. Prosperity and peace would go hand in hand, instead of prosperity in the form of a war boom or preparedness for war. The provisional government functioned much more smoothly and efficiently than any government Alpaca had before

known, and made possible the stepping up of the date of the first general election to February 1, 1960, much earlier than had been expected.

This little country, splendid in its potential, did not attract attention from abroad, for it was a very small pawn in the world's chess game of power politics. No other nation or clique of nations needed Alpaca. Its standing under its dictators had been so poor that it was ignored, perhaps even held in contempt by the United Nations.

There was nothing about this status which displeased the best people of Alpaca. They sought not to be Point IVed! They felt that their country had before it a place in the world which could command universal respect and now they wanted only to be left alone and unmolested while they were establishing their government. They thought they knew what was right and were convinced they had something which could be made to work, and which would insure peace and the greatest freedom consistent with organized society. Their Constitution was for them. They had no thought of trying to impose it on neighbors or anyone else. They looked forward confidently to the future of Alpaca, with its Constitution in which improvements were permitted which could make the country an ultimate development of organized society, and they were firm in their conviction that society must be properly organized.

They refused to listen to pious mouthings about avoiding the compulsion of the State. Alpacans wanted to be compelled to do the just, honorable, and right thing, and they wanted desperately that

others be required to do the same. Then there would be Peace! It was as simple as that!

For them, November 13, 1959, would always remain a day of days!

Chapter 16

THE CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA

WHEN ACHALA left his homeland, he envisioned a long and lonely search for the means with which his people would govern themselves. It would never have occurred to him that such a simple thing as love of liberty could act as a magnet and draw to him not only the accomplishment he sought, but love and companionship, and deep and lasting friendships as well.

The Plan Team had neither knowledge of constitutional law nor experience in government. Their only qualification for the task they undertook was a common love of freedom so intense as to dedicate them to seek a way of freedom for a country they had only heard of and a people they had never met. They found wisdom and experience of ages available to them; but the final decisions were their own—decisions reached by their information and ideas passing through the crucible of each member's thoughts until it crystallized as the product of all their thinking. They were guided by history but not bound by it, and the Constitution they produced, tailored as it

was to the needs of the Alpacan people, should insure a free and tranquil government for many years.

The Team Members learned early that idealism must be tempered with realism, and that they must require themselves and one another to think beyond what was merely "right" or "wrong." Truth and Fact were essential, but there was one overriding consideration as to whether a "truth" or a "fact" found its way into the Alpacan Constitution, and that consideration was its practical application to Alpaca and its people. The Team listened to Achala, and became convinced early that insofar as possible they must put aside their own heritages and experiences, their own ideas and prejudices. Ideally, the majority of Alpacans should have had similar educational opportunities, and developed like degrees of skills with which to contribute to the welfare of their country; but as a cold, hard reality the Members were dealing with a system not of their choosing and beyond their ability to control, a system of sharply-divided classes that could neither be ignored nor soon remedied.

There were, for example, the "landed gentry" who would be unwilling to abandon the privileges—and the responsibilities, for that matter—that they had enjoyed for ages, to engage in a democratic process which would strip them of the position they had earned and reduce them to the same voting power as the indigent. Neither would the well-educated, highly-informed few willingly forfeit their station and stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the ignorant masses. And there were the merchants whose power,

their ability in trade and commerce, was also the country's power in export and import and who provided jobs for so many of those less astute or less ambitious. Success of the nation was dependent on the very few who had a great deal to offer, but it had to give equitable consideration to the very many who had so little to offer; that was the situation that had to be dealt with. The masses had to have a realistic plan to help them become a part in self-government, and the plan had to consider the fact that they were peons completely ignorant of even the meaning of governing themselves.

It was the fervent hope of the Plan Team, when they completed their work, that what they had done would not stop with Alpaca; in the many countries similarly situated, or faced with the threat of communist domination, they could watch hopefully for similar plan teams to spring up following their example. In addition to their own example of success, some Team Members knew of simple letter-writing campaigns that had thwarted communism's intricate designs and even turned back the imminence of a communist takeover such as once threatened Italy. Their thinking was of the Achalas and the Maras in the backward countries, the less stable governments of the world; what youth in 1960, however freedom-inspired, could possibly foresee the successful forays of Castro and DeGaulle? At the time the Freedom Team was creating its Plan for Alpaca, its members could not foresee Fidel Castro's chameleon-like change from a self-styled "agrarian reformer" to the dictator of a Red Cuba. They had no way of foresee-

ing the agitation which led minorities in the USA into demonstrating, a step-up in crime rates, then to riots and finally near-insurrection. These activities would not have been tolerated anywhere in the world a short time prior to their incidence, and certainly were not to be expected in the most stable of countries. Nor could Team Members anticipate that the United States and some other democracies would begin offering and paying a premium for movements so far to the left that they could be called communistic or socialistic, or at least atheistic.

CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA

PREAMBLE

We, the people of Alpaca, yearning to achieve a just, stable and lasting form of government and to assure tranquility and peace to ourselves and our posterity, do hereby ordain and establish this the Constitution of Alpaca.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. An informed and responsible electorate being basic to lasting government, all citizens of Alpaca, male or female, eighteen (18) years of age or older at the time of an election shall without educational, mental or other tests have the right to vote.

Only citizens age twenty-two (22) years or older, except in the Military, shall hold positions, namely offices, posts, or as delegates, in the Government of

Alpaca. Members of the military age eighteen (18) years or older may serve as delegates and hold other positions in the Military branch of government, but in no other position. "Term," as used in this Constitution, unless otherwise provided when used and except the initial four (4) and eight (8) year terms required to establish the twelve (12) year term pattern, shall mean a continuous tenure in position of twelve (12) years with ineligibility to serve in the same capacity beyond twelve (12) years until one (1) year shall have elapsed. In initial elections and nominations, those named to the four (4) year, eight (8) year and twelve (12) year terms must be designated. Occupancy of or termination of any position shall not constitute ineligibility for acceptance of service in any other position. Ineligibility to again be chosen for service in the same capacity without the lapse of one (1) year makes rotation a reality. Proper rotation in position stimulates the highest efficiency and provides the most economical administration of government. Service to fill vacancies and unexpired terms of seven (7) years or less does not invoke ineligibility. Any citizen convicted of participating in any subterfuge or plan to defeat this ineligibility clause shall never thereafter vote or serve in a government position.

SECTION 2. The Provinces of Alpaca shall be divided into voting Precincts. Each Precinct shall be formed to comprise as nearly as practicable two thousand (2,000) potential voters. If any Precinct exceeds three thousand (3,000) potential voters a committee chosen by the highest College of legisla-

tive delegates representing the legislative district in which said Precinct is located shall in a reasonable time redistrict the Precincts to disturb the former Precinct boundaries as little as possible and yet conform as closely as practicable to the pattern of two thousand (2,000) total of potential voters per Precinct, and a remnant Precinct, if required, may comprise any lesser number of voters.

SECTION 3. The voters within a Precinct shall elect a Registration Board for that Precinct which shall consist of three (3) members each to serve one (1) term, one (1) of whom shall be elected every four (4) years. The Registration Board shall select and provide election judges and the clerical help and facilities necessary to hold elections.

Each Registration Board shall maintain a registration office at which every citizen must register prior to December 31 of each year to qualify to vote in the ensuing year. This registration is mandatory. Any citizen failing to register except through circumstances beyond his control shall forfeit the right to vote for a five (5) year period.

Precinct elections shall be held at publicized polling places each four (4) years at the month, day and hours set by the Senate and shall consist of a first election and a second election. In the first election the names appearing on the ballot shall be decided by petitions. The Registration Board, beginning six (6) months prior to each election, shall make available in convenient form petitions for registered voters of the Precinct who wish to nominate citizens for certain positions to be on the Precinct ballot of the

first election. Any registered voter can appear during office hours and sign a petition showing the date of signature and their preference for one different citizen to fill each position for as many positions as are to be filled for which he elects to declare. Friends of citizens may circulate petitions of a similar nature to be dated when filed with the Precinct Registration Board on behalf of citizens who are willing to have their names appear on the ballot as candidates for specified positions for submission to the electorate. A Petitioner shall be limited to naming only one citizen for each position and only his nomination to fill a position first filed with the Registration Board shall be counted. The five (5) high named persons in petitions for each position, as well as all other persons named by five per cent (5%) of the Precinct electorate for that position, shall be printed on the ballot. After the results of the first election have been decided the names of the two (2) persons receiving the highest vote for each position shall appear on the ballot for the second election which shall be held two (2) weeks after the first election. The citizen receiving the highest vote for each position in the second election shall be certified by the Registration Board as elected. In case of a tie, the Registration Board shall name the winner. Precinct elections shall be by secret ballot, all higher elections by open ballot. All special, municipal and school elections shall be similarly conducted.

SECTION 4. In casting votes to fill offices the voters in each Precinct shall elect separate delegates for each of the three (3) main branches of govern-

ment, being the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government, and also for the Military, a minor branch of government. Each Precinct shall elect six (6) delegates in each of the three main branches of government, two (2) being elected each four (4) years to serve a term, Place Number 1 delegates to fill necessary local or regional offices, Place Number 2 delegates to vote for higher officials and delegates to form a College to elect even higher officials or delegates to an even higher College. Each Precinct shall also elect three (3) Military branch delegates, who may or may not be in the Military, one (1) to be elected each four (4) years for a term. All Military delegates shall have the same duties and act in the combined capacity of the Place Number 1 and Place Number 2 delegates in the three (3) main branches of government. Delegates shall always cast a vote equal to the value of the total registered voting power of the Precinct or area they represent.

SECTION 5. The Precinct delegates for each branch of government shall meet and vote with delegates of their branch of government from other contiguous Precincts authorized by the Senate to comprise a "College." A College shall not exceed three hundred (300) delegates, except the highest College shall contain from one hundred one (101) to four hundred (400) delegates. Elections shall be held in elective Colleges one (1) month after the delegates voting in said elections have been chosen. The College elections shall be held in the same manner and under the same rules as the Precinct elections except the voting will be by open ballot until the highest Col-

leges of a pyramidal system have been chosen to fill the highest offices in Alpaca. Each College shall fill the required offices wholly within its College district which have not been filled at a lower level and shall elect from its number or other citizens of the College district six (6) delegates, two (2) to be elected each four (4) years; each to serve a term until the highest College required in each branch of government has been elected. Each delegate may serve in the same branch of government in any number of such positions to which he may be elected from Precinct or College. He shall not serve as a delegate while holding an elective or appointive office. Should any delegate or official be convicted of participating in any trade or exchange of support with other delegates or officials he shall be guilty of bribery, disqualified from further service in the government of Alpaca and liable for all penalties for bribery.

SECTION 6. Should twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct electorate petition the Precinct Registration Board in a manner similar to the naming of citizens to appear on the ballot by petition asking that the Precinct electorate vote directly for citizens to fill the offices essential within the Precinct, the Registration Board shall call a special election one (1) year prior to the next general election to vote upon petitioners' request. If a two-thirds (2/3ds) majority of the Precinct electorate voting in the special election approves this change in the Precinct elective procedure, thereafter the citizens to fill all positions within the Precinct shall be elected by a direct vote until such time as twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct

electorate petitions the Registration Board for a return to the delegate system originally provided in the Constitution and in a special election called by the Registration Board vote by a majority for restoration of the original delegate system.

SECTION 7. Delegates to the highest College in each branch of government shall elect nine (9) members of a Vacancy Committee to serve their branch of government, three (3) members to be elected each four (4) years for a term. Each Vacancy Committee shall by majority vote fill any vacancy occurring in any office within their branch for a vacancy term until the next general election, at which time the office will be filled by balloting for the remainder of the unexpired term, and shall in the same manner fill vacancies occurring in their own committee.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The legislative power of Alpaca shall be vested solely in a Senate and Legislative Veto Board.

SECTION 2. Alpaca shall be divided into forty (40) legislative districts, each representing as nearly as practicable one-fortieth (1/40th) of the national population. A legislative district need not be confined within the borders of a province. Each legislative district shall be represented by three (3) Senators, each age twenty-eight (28) years or older, one (1) Senator to be elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that in the first election, one shall be elected to a 4-year term, one to an 8-year

term and one to a 12-year term. A Senator need not be a resident of the district which he represents, but during his Senate term shall not represent any other district or area in the Senate or serve in any other position. In voting in the Senate, each Senator shall cast a vote equal to the total registered voting power of his district. The Senate shall elect from its number a Chairman, a First Vice-Chairman and a Second Vice-Chairman, each for a two (2) year period, the Chairman being ineligible to further serve as Chairman until the lapse of one (1) year. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint Presiding Officers and Parliamentarians, from among experienced persons, age seventy (70) years or less, who are not members of the Senate, and shall appoint other operating personnel. The Senate shall at all times keep the Senate Chairmanship filled and should a vacancy occur without any Vice-Chairman to succeed to the position, then the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board shall call the Senate in special session. Redistricting of Legislative districts when needed shall be made by a committee appointed by the Senate.

SECTION 3. The highest College of legislative delegates shall elect a Legislative Veto Board of three (3) members, each age thirty-six (36) or older, one (1) to be elected each four (4) years for a term. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint one (1) of these three (3) as Chairman and one (1) as First Assistant Chairman, and the chairmanship shall rotate each year. The Legislative Veto Board shall continuously advise with the Senate Budget Staff and other Budget Staffs. By a two-thirds vote,

the Legislative Veto Board may veto any law passed by the Senate, in which event, the Senate can by a two-thirds (2/3ds) vote, re-enact the law over their veto.

SECTION 4. All legislation expires at the end of twelve (12) years after its enactment unless it be re-enacted by the Senate thirty (30) or more days before its expiration. The re-enactment unchanged of expiring legislation shall not be subject to veto.

SECTION 5. The Senate shall establish an equitable and uniform system of taxation. The combined total of all taxes, national, school, municipal or special district, except head tax and occupancy tax provided in Article II, Section 10 and Section 12, to prevent confiscation, shall be contained within the percentage of valuation as follows:

1. Annual Property Tax—fixed rate between $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
2. Import Tax—variable rate between 0% and 100%, depending on article
3. Export Tax—variable rate between 0% and 50%, depending on article
4. Severance Tax on Natural Resources—variable rate between 0% to 30%, depending on article
5. Gift Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 15%
6. Inheritance Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%
7. Production or Manufacturing Tax—a fixed rate on each article
 - (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%

- (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%

8. Income Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%

9. Sales Tax—a fixed rate on each article

- (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%

- (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%

10. Franchise Tax—fixed rate of 0% to 2% of volume of business

Tax exemption shall not be permitted on any property owned or used by the government, nor on property, resources or income used in philanthropies of any nature, however worthy, except solely for advancing medical science, care of the sick, and public enlightenment to promote personal initiative and individual liberty.

Contributions by individuals to Alpacan religious institutions or contributions made through the religious institutions to programs supported partly or entirely by religious organizations and engaged only in advancing medical science, caring for the sick, or promoting personal initiative or any combination thereof, would be deductible limited to 20 per cent of the taxpayer's income for the year.

Taxpayers in a position to lose bonus votes by being dropped into a lower tax bracket through deductions would be so dropped unless they indicated to the contrary on filing their income reports. An organization professing adherence to a religion would be considered a religious institution by the Alpacan

government only if the religion espoused by the persons comprising the religious organization acknowledges the existence of a Supreme Being. Assessments shall not be made against taxpayers of certain classes during the time the cost of collection from them would exceed fifty per cent (50%) of the revenue to be collected. Only such taxes shall be imposed in the order above recited, in the percentage deemed proper within the percentage limitation, as are essential to finance the government. Taxes shall be assessed to maintain the financial stability of the government; but the power to tax shall never be used as a power to destroy, promote philosophic objectives, or transform society in any manner except to discourage the use or consumption of harmful substances. In computing the tax on the production and sale of irreplaceable natural resources, including timber, and income therefrom, the Senate shall fix an allowance for the depletion of capital value of these resources. There shall be no payroll tax of any character whatever, and no withholding from payrolls shall be made except for voluntary health and life insurance and for income tax when legalized. Taxes shall not be assessed nor tax money spent except for purposes authorized by this Constitution.

SECTION 6. The Senate shall enact legislation for the establishment of a postal system, post offices and post roads to be operated by the Government, or if more efficient and economical by contract with privately owned companies; the arrest of persons for crime, rules of criminal procedure and punishment; the Standard of Weights and Measures, and regulat-

ing commerce with foreign nations. The Senate shall appropriate adequate funds for maintenance of the Military Branch after advising with the Commander in Chief and the National Policy Committee; and shall maintain a budget staff to recommend the levying of taxes and appropriations constituting national budgets and to confer with any budget staffs maintained by the Executive or Military Branches.

SECTION 7. The Senate shall enact legislation providing for the coinage of money, the issuance of currencies and other governmental securities, the unit value Pack, based on and redeemable in ten (10) kilograms of wheat or rice of standard grade, whichever is of lesser value, or quantities equal in value of other available commodities, or redeemable in any subsequent issue of Pack at their comparative commodity values. The Senate may revalue the commodity value of the Pack when necessary, but not more often than three (3) years from the last revaluation, but such revaluation shall not change the commodity values of previously issued Pack. The Government shall make available within Alpaca designated redemption points convenient to the public but may require twenty (20) days' notice for distribution of commodities. The Cent shall be 1/100th of the Pack in its subdivision and the Kilo 1/10th. The Pack and the multiples thereof shall be issued in currency and its 1/100th, 1/20th, 1/10th and 1/4th subdivisions shall be in coin which is redeemable in Pack of any issue but not redeemable in commodities.

SECTION 8. The Senate shall enact laws regulating

the admission of aliens into Alpaca under such terms, conditions and durations as it may deem proper, together with rules governing the naturalization of self-supporting aliens who lawfully reside in Alpaca. Continued allegiance of any naturalized Alpaca citizen to a foreign country being established by judicial decree shall result in the revocation of Alpaca citizenship and prompt deportation of such person. If such allegiance to a foreign country includes treason, such person shall first be tried for such treason. All persons born or naturalized in Alpaca and maintaining active allegiance and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of Alpaca.

SECTION 9. The Senate may enact laws applicable only to certain local areas. Upon receiving a petition of twenty per cent (20%) of Precinct legislative delegates representing any area seeking a national law applicable to that area only, the Senate shall appoint a committee to hold hearings and conduct investigations as to the need for such special legislation; this committee need not include any member of the Senate and shall report to the Senate's general committee for localized laws, and the Senate may enact a national law applicable to any particular area within Alpaca, effective after a majority vote of acceptance by the Precinct legislative delegates representing said area.

SECTION 10. School Legislation shall be local laws enacted in the school district or other school divisions conforming to the Constitution. School elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Board of Precincts wholly or partly within the school

district with only qualified citizens residing within the area voting. Only school elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. Taxes necessary to maintain schools shall be assessed on parents or guardians for each of their children age five (5) to seventeen (17) years at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack per child within the school district; and a head tax assessed on each other adult person residing within the school district at a fixed rate of two (2) to six (6) Pack; and taxes assessed on the same but not fully used sources of tax authorized subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

SECTION 11. The Government shall require that children from six (6) through fourteen (14) years of age whose health permits attend a qualified school or be otherwise adequately tutored.

Children, three and four years old, who, in kindergarten pass examinations disclosing that they are qualified to enter grades with children above five years of age, may be accepted in higher grades for which they qualify if their parents desire.

The Government shall provide boarding and day school facilities, where needed, for the tutelage of the mentally inadequate.

Parents and guardians shall be responsible for each child's attendance or instruction. Those directly concerned shall be in charge of policies, administration, control and the raising of funds, but the Government shall require that the annual minimum salary for all teachers and instructors in the educational field shall be thirty per cent (30%) or more

greater than the average highest pay for the highest paid ten per cent (10%) of unskilled hourly or per diem wage earners in the area.

SECTION 12. Charters, by-laws and laws to govern municipalities may be enacted by voters in the areas affected and shall apply only to the municipality wherein enacted but must conform to the Constitution and laws of Alpaca. Municipal elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Boards of Precincts wholly or partly within the municipality with only those voting who reside within the municipality at times designated by the municipal government. Only municipal elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. A municipal occupancy tax at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack shall be assessed on each citizen age eighteen (18) years or older residing within the municipality, a franchise tax assessed at a fixed rate of 0% to 2% of value of volume, and taxes assessed on the same sources of tax authorized but not fully used by Alpaca or schools subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

SECTION 13. The Senate shall enact proper legislation providing for the enforcement of legal rights for wage-earning persons providing these rights from employers: disability pay for injuries; vacation with pay; to accept bonuses from employers when offered; to quit work upon notice to employer who shall honor such termination notices in order of length of service, but shall not be required to honor each day notices from more than 8% of his total staff employed

at the time of receiving such notices, but all notices shall be honored within 14 days; to be paid the Wage and Hour Commission minimum wage and to accept for better workmanship or greater efficiency higher pay than the average wage for the same tasks; to recreational and entertainment facilities; to be afforded healthful working conditions; to freedom from abuse by word or deed; to be free from paying a fee to the employers or any other person or organization as a condition for securing and continuing a job. The Senate shall not enact any legislation attempting to endow a wage-earning person with a property right in employment; unemployment insurance; a right to adverse occupancy of his employer's property; or a guaranteed wage for a future period of time. The Government shall maintain employment placement offices for the free use and convenience of wage-earning persons and employers.

SECTION 14. The Government shall accredit and list all non-governmental hospitals in Alpaca and the Government shall, where needed, construct and equip hospitals, nurses' dormitories and related facilities which with existing hospitals are adequate for the hospitalization of ten per cent (10%) above the average number of sick, and shall for stipulated periods place each and any hospital and its facilities, free of charge, in the custody of either a medical association, some other charitable organization or a highly efficient private profit motive organization; requiring that such hospitals and facilities be maintained and utilized to properly serve the public.

SECTION 15. The Senate shall enact legislation

providing for appropriate facilities for the care of orphans and adoption procedures and agencies for all orphans.

SECTION 16. The Government shall conduct its affairs to compete as little as possible with private industry, and shall keep at a minimum its land and real estate ownership used for national defense, parks, wild life refuges, flood control, reforestation, hospital sites, communication centers and similar ownerships absolutely essential to the function of Government, and shall be subject to suit to account to those suffering financial damage from the Government's failure to conform to these provisions.

SECTION 17. The Chairman of the Senate shall instruct the presiding officer to limit each Senator wishing to participate in the discussion of any subject before the Senate to a total of two hours, which he may use either in debate or in formal speeches.

SECTION 18. The Chairman of the Senate shall schedule action on each subject under consideration in such a way that voting shall be distributed throughout the session to prevent an accumulation of pending measures from being crowded into the closing days of a legislative session for final action, and a final vote on each measure shall be taken within ten (10) days after it is first brought to the Senate floor. A Senator may announce to the public by written word only his stand regarding any legislative measures before the Senate, but should he be found guilty of offering to pledge his support directly or indirectly to any person or any legislative measure he shall be

suspended by the Legislative Investigating Committee.

SECTION 19. The Senate at the close of each session shall set a day for its next regular session and in case of emergency may be called into special session by the Chairman of the Senate or by the National Policy Committee.

SECTION 20. Bureaucracy in government makes for waste, inefficiency and a limitation of the freedom of the citizenry; therefore all agencies, bureaus, boards and commissions not specifically provided by the Constitution which may be established on an emergency basis in any branch of government shall be completely liquidated and terminated by the President within eighteen (18) months after having first been started and an annual review by an Agency Review Committee appointed by the National Policy Committee shall be made of all such entities of a permanent nature for the purpose of recommending (1) sustaining of such entity, (2) curtailment of activities, (3) reduction of personnel or (4) the complete liquidation and termination of such entity; and the findings of the Review Committee shall be promptly communicated to the President, the Chairman of the Senate and the head of the branch of government to which the entity is connected.

SECTION 21. All property, real or personal, acquired by either the husband or wife during marriage, except that which is the separate property of either, shall be deemed the community property of the husband and wife, and owned by them in equal shares. All property of a person, both real and per-

sonal, owned before marriage, and that acquired after marriage by gift, devise or descent, and the increase therefrom, shall be the separate property of that person. The Senate shall enact necessary legislation to effect and maintain such ownership.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The highest executive authority of the Nation shall be vested in a Triumvirate of three (3), each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates, one (1) member being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Chief of the Appointment Examining Board shall initially appoint one (1) of the Triumvirs to serve as President of the Triumvirate, one (1) to serve as First Assistant Triumvir and one (1) to serve as Second Assistant Triumvir, each for a one (1) year period, and the Presidency shall thereafter rotate each year. The two Assistant Triumvirs shall serve with full-time duties of the Triumvirate. In the event of a vacancy in the Presidency, other than through rotation, the First Assistant Triumvir shall succeed to the Presidency and the Second Assistant Triumvir shall become the First Assistant Triumvir and the Vacancy Committee shall fill the resulting vacancy. The President of the Triumvirate must be joined by one (1) of the Assistant Triumvirs or by the Chief of the Appointment Examining Board in each act or decision. Should none of these three (3) confirm the proposal of the President, these three

(3), acting unanimously, are empowered to act on the subject brought to their attention by the President or on any other imperative matters of state.

SECTION 2. Qualifications of appointive officials in the Executive Branch of the Government will be passed upon by an Appointment Examining Board of nine (9) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates every four (4) years to serve a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for 4-year, three for 8-year and three for 12-year terms. The Appointment Examining Board shall organize the Board and at all times keep filled the office of Chief of the Appointment Executive Board. The findings of this Board shall be advisory, but the Board may reject any appointment made by an elected executive official. The Appointment Examining Board may establish Sub-Boards where needed, the membership of which shall be elected in the same manner as the Appointment Examining Board by the Executive Delegates authorized to fill the offices in the area in which the Sub-Board shall function, and the Sub-Board shall function under the rules prescribed for the parent Board.

SECTION 3. The President of the Executive Triumvirate may negotiate treaties with foreign powers within the framework of the Constitution, and a treaty shall become binding when ratified by the majority of a Treaty Committee composed of the Chairman of the Senate, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chief of the Appointment

Examining Board of the executive department. The treaty shall become the law of the land only so far as the obligation of the Nation to carry out that particular treaty and shall not become a precedent in law.

SECTION 4. The highest College of executive delegates shall elect a Wage and Hour Commission consisting of three (3) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, one (1) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Wage and Hour Commission shall make a continuous study of the man hours of work needed in Alpaca and the work capacity in man hours of the people available to do the work. The purpose of the study shall be to smoothly accomplish the distribution of the volume of work needed to be done when demand for production is great within Alpaca and to prevent abnormal unemployment at all time. Semiannually, the Wage and Hour Commission shall report its findings as to the proper hours per week employment and one (1) month thereafter with the consent of a majority of the National Policy Committee, call for a prescribed number of hours as the work week and for a minimum wage for males and a minimum wage for females applying equally to all who work, with time and a half for overtime and holiday work and one and a half times the customary pay for overtime piece work. Wage earners shall not accept year, month, week, day, hour, or piece work for pay from anyone other than their regular employer if the work

week is forty-four (44) hours or less, but may perform work for themselves.

SECTION 5. In the event citizens or members of the armed forces of Alpaca are forcibly and illegally detained in foreign countries, the Executive Triumvirate shall promptly enter into diplomatic negotiations to secure their immediate release. Should such diplomatic negotiations fail within thirty (30) days to secure the release and repatriation of any such persons being illegally detained, the National Policy Committee shall take whatever action is necessary to rescue and repatriate such persons.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the Nation shall be vested in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as the Supreme Court shall from time to time establish, each of which when established shall be abolished whenever there is insufficient docket to justify its continuance.

SECTION 2. A Supreme Court of nine (9) Justices each age forty (40) years or older shall be elected by the highest college of judicial delegates, three (3) Justices being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for a 4-year, three for an 8-year and three for a 12-year term. The Supreme Court Justices shall choose one of their number to serve as Chief Justice for a two (2) year period, ineligible to further serve as Chief Justice until the lapse of one (1) year. The position of Chief Justice shall be kept filled at all times and should a vacancy occur the Court shall immediately

convene, and the Justices shall re-organize the court. The Vacancy Committee shall then select a new member to bring the court up to the prescribed number of members. All members of the Supreme Court other than the original members must have previously served as judges in courts for a period of two (2) or more years.

SECTION 3. Judges of the lower national courts, each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected for a two (2) year term by the judicial delegates representing their jurisdictional district, shall preside over all cases and trials within their jurisdiction, and two (2) commissioners to be associated with each judge shall be similarly elected. The judge and commissioners may render a unanimous verdict or a two-to-one verdict, and in either case their majority decision shall be the judgment of the court and if none agree, the judge alone shall render the verdict. All verdicts shall be subject to appeal.

SECTION 4. The Supreme Court shall from time to time establish labor courts to furnish wage earners and employers easy access to a labor judge of age twenty-six (26) or older, who shall be of equal stature to judges of lower national courts and elected by the same delegates electing the judges of the lower national courts. A nominal fee of 10 Pack shall be charged complainant, either employer or employee, for hearings. By appointment complainant with any witnesses he may wish to have heard may appear with or without counsel before the labor judge who, after questioning the complainant, and summoning any other parties who should be heard in the case,

shall furnish complainant and defendants with a transcript of the hearing and the judge's verdict. The verdict rendered by the judge shall be subject to appeal by any party to the case to either a lower national court or to the same appellate courts to which verdicts of other lower national court judges are made, paying the usual costs of these courts.

SECTION 5. The Supreme Court shall from time to time establish such appellate courts with such appellate jurisdiction as the Supreme Court deems necessary. The highest College of judicial delegates representing each appellate district shall elect three (3) judges; each age thirty-two (32) or older for each appellate court, one (1) judge being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be elected for a 4-year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term.

SECTION 6. The Supreme Court shall not declare any act of the Senate unconstitutional with a finding of less than seven (7) affirmative votes nor nullify executive action with less than six (6) affirmative votes. The Supreme Court shall recognize that this Constitution can be amended only as provided in Article VI and shall only construe existing laws which have been enacted by the Senate and shall not attempt to expand the meaning of existing laws in a manner which would create legislation by judicial decree; but if they find uncertainty of the legislative intent in any law, it shall be proper for the Supreme Court to request the Senate for an enactment to clarify the legislation.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The Military shall be separate from but responsible in top policy matters to the three other branches of the national government. Three (3) officers each age thirty (30) years or older to head the Military shall be elected, one to be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be selected for a 4-year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term, by the highest College of Military Delegates. The National Policy Committee shall name one (1) of the three (3) as Commander in Chief, another as First Assistant and the other as Second Assistant to the Commander in Chief, and the position of Commander in Chief shall rotate each two (2) years and the First and Second Assistant shall at all times serve in the immediate staff of the Commander in Chief. However, the term of any of these officials may be terminated when, in the opinion of the National Policy Committee, the best interests of Alpaca justify the action. The Commander in Chief shall be responsible for the conduct of the armed forces, but as to top policy decisions shall be subordinate to a National Policy Committee composed of the President of the Triumvirate, who shall be Chairman of the National Policy Committee, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board. The Commander in Chief shall report to the President his proposed actions, and a majority of the National Policy Committee may withhold the Committee's sanction and the Committee shall be empowered if acting unanimously to direct the Commander in

Chief to carry out any policy they consider imperative. If a decision is not reached in either manner, the issue shall then be promptly decided by the Chairman of the Senate.

SECTION 2. The National Policy Committee and the Commander in Chief acting unanimously may engage the military forces in military action against any foreign power; and acting with the consent of the Chairman of the Senate may instruct the Commander in Chief to use the military forces in suppressing rebellion and policing internal local areas if the civil authorities apply to the Commander in Chief for help in situations beyond their control. Military forces shall not be used against any citizens of Alpaca except as above provided.

SECTION 3. The Commander in Chief shall appoint the highest officer of each division of the military service and the members of his immediate staff other than the two Assistant Chiefs. Personnel for the four (4) lowest posts or ranks in each division of the military service equivalent to Corporal, Sergeant, Lieutenant and Captain will be named by their superiors, and all other military officers intermediate between these high appointive stations and low appointive ranks provided above shall be elected by the appropriate college of military delegates for the position to be filled as defined by the Senate. Excepting the Commanders in Chief, the military officers shall not be limited in term of service while able to perform their duties or upon reaching a proper uniform retirement age to be set by the Senate. In making all appointments and promotions seniority shall be con-

sidered only as one factor of merit and all appointments shall be made by merit. Those occupying elective military positions are eligible for Retirement payments.

SECTION 4. Volunteers shall be accepted into the Armed Services when needed, and in emergencies Alpaca shall have the right to conscript personnel for military service who shall receive equitable pay, and the right to conscript property for military use, the owners of which shall receive just compensation. The success of military action is dependent upon modern equipment and the personnel shall be kept at the minimum.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. Amendments to the Constitution may be submitted to the Delegate Electorate by a two-thirds (%ds) vote of the Senate or proposed by a majority of a Constitutional Convention of thirty-one (31) members elected by the Senate or by a unanimous vote of the National Policy Committee. Any amendment submitted by any of the three will become a part of the Constitution upon a two-thirds (%ds) vote of all delegates voting who have been elected in all branches of government in the Precincts. They shall be called upon to vote on the ratification of the amendment at the first general election or within two (2) years following its submission.

ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. The highest College of delegates in

each branch of government shall elect an Investigating Committee consisting of nine (9) members each age thirty-two (32) or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a term. The duties of each of these committees shall be to investigate and hold hearings regarding the conduct of any position in such committee's branch of government. Hearings may be conducted by two (2) or more members of the committee and all information and evidence adduced at a hearing will be reported to the full committee for its action. Hearings may be open or closed. The committee by majority vote shall have the authority to call a new election at the next general election for any elected position and they may also temporarily suspend the occupant of any position. They may consider the health, habits, competency, efficiency, derelictions, temperament and integrity of the occupant who is the subject of their investigation, but in making an adverse finding they shall not publicize their reasons. An investigation by this committee shall not preclude criminal action from being taken against any person. Any investigating committee may establish a similar but inferior committee to function part or all time, if needed, to investigate minor position holders, which cases they are unable to properly investigate, but the final authority will rest in the highest investigating committee which shall be responsible for the subordinate investigating committees which it may establish.

SECTION 2. The penalty for acts of treason against the Government imposed in the Courts of Alpaca

shall be imprisonment for three (3) or more years or a sentence of death.

SECTION 3. The Investigating Committee shall not deem any person being paid funds from the Government innocent until proven innocent, and shall discontinue persons from their Governmental activities upon an accusation of treasonable or illegal activities which the Investigating Committee considers substantial until such time as their innocence of such accusation has been adjudged.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. (a) The Government shall pay each citizen upon reaching the age of sixty-six (66) a monthly installment as a Seniority payment amounting to one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of the highest average monthly earnings attained by him for any three (3) consecutive years between the ages of fifty-one (51) and sixty (60). Such payments are to be limited to an amount equivalent to the value of 400 Pack. Seniority payments to a non-salaried and not self-employed married woman shall be in the amount of one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of her husband's monthly earnings limited to 300 Pack. Each citizen not in need and preferring to waive the Seniority payments due him shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recognition of a high degree of patriotic spirit.

(b) Retirement payments will be made to all elective officials who have served to honorably terminate a full term or a vacancy term of eight (8) or more years, in the amount of two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the monthly salary of the office. If more than one (1)

office has been held the retirement payments shall be only for the office of highest pay. The payments shall be due without regard to the status of future employment or occupation, but no seniority payment shall be made to former officials receiving retirement payments. Any elective official, after reaching the age of sixty-five (65) years, may retire, drawing full pay for the remainder of the term to which he was elected and retirement pay thereafter. Each citizen preferring to waive retirement payments when eligible shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recognition of a high degree of patriotic spirit. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive payment of fifty per cent (50%) or more of his annual government salary shall be granted one (1) additional vote in recognition of his desire to lessen the cost of government. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive a previous year's total per diem payments, if amounting to more than ten per cent (10%) of the average national salary for similar work shall be granted one (1) additional vote.

(c) Delegates to represent the electorate in a Precinct or College of delegates shall not be considered official and their pay shall be considered per diem payments for time actually given to their work and not salaries. This is true of all clerical help in holding elections except the Registration Board and any other part-time and temporary helpers.

(d) Indigent and infirm citizens shall be paid by the Government a monthly sum sufficient only to cover their necessities. The Senate may provide for

resident persons a payment during the time such persons are seriously sick, only so long as their sickness lasts.

SECTION 2. Persons offering themselves for office or willing to accept office shall renounce their membership and participation in any and all political parties or thought groups but may announce their opinion regarding policies and truthful and accurate records of their past training and achievements in written form only but shall not make any promises of any nature whatsoever to any person or group except to pledge to take the following oath of office: "I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA, EFFICIENTLY DISCHARGE MY DUTIES AND PERFORM MY OFFICIAL ACTIONS TO ACCOMPLISH WHATEVER APPEARS TO ME TO BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALPACA WHEN THE TIME FOR DECISION OR ACTION ARRIVES."

SECTION 3. (a) The holders of offices and other governmental posts or positions shall not participate in any manner in the raising of funds from private sources for any institution or endeavor.

(b) Any citizen, elective or appointive, in any national, municipal, or school position shall not accept but shall return to the donor any individual gift in excess of a nominal value equivalent to 5 Pack, or any gifts from different persons comprising an aggregate value in excess of the equivalent to 100 Pack.

SECTION 4. (a) The Government of Alpaca declares that a continuing presentation of views and information and a constant debate between the two

(2) worldwide opposing philosophies of government is a proper and wholesome governmental activity when carried out in a manner to avoid hysteria, prejudice and emotion in an attempt to formulate the best possible policies for orderly government. The printed word is subject to verification, review, analysis and evaluation and reaches the better reasoning power of those who read with understanding, therefore it provides the proper avenue for such debate. The two (2) thought groups of opposing philosophies may be best described as follows:

LIBERAL—Stressing privileges for the masses; progress unhampered by tradition, humanitarianism regardless of property rights, paternalistic government, social gains and associated and similar objectives.

CONSTRUCTIVE—Stressing inviolate property rights, individual initiative, the profit motive, free markets, protection against governmental monopoly and associated and similar objectives.

Principles should not be sacrificed in order to attain a middle-of-the-road policy but it may be from time to time the extreme views of either thought group may not provide as salutary or sound governmental policy as a policy tempered by and leaning toward the opposing philosophy. Therefore, Alpaca shall require printed news media published therein to make available free a minimum of two per cent (2%) of space for the use of the authorized writing staff for each of these thought groups. The two (2) authorized writing staffs shall be chosen and comprised as follows:

LIBERAL—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the liberal philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. Initially, the five shall be appointed for one, two, three, four, and five-year terms. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

CONSTRUCTIVE—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the constructive philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

In addition to these officially sponsored opposing columns, freedom of the press, including all non-libelous statements regarding affairs and policy of

government and its personnel is guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca. The right to petition the government or officials shall never be infringed upon.

(b) Discussions of governmental affairs and persons are confined to printed media, precluded from radio, TV and the cinema and shall not be voiced or pictured in public meetings attended by more than 700 persons. Within these limits freedom of speech regarding any matter or person pertaining to government is guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca. Pertaining to non-governmental affairs or persons, freedoms of speech, press, communications, presentation of wholesome entertainment in theater, by radio or television are guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca and the Senate shall enact legislation to implement the maintenance of these freedoms at all times by curtailing any monopoly of ownership, management or policy and curtailing the dissemination of false propaganda, either open or subtle, wherein one race or creed assails other races or creeds or one class assails another class; and curbing all unbalanced programs tending to undermine freedom and government.

(c) Worship shall be encouraged in Alpaca but Alpaca shall never have any government-supported religion, nor shall the Senate make any law regarding the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall any religious test or qualification be a prerequisite to holding elective or appointive position; nor shall any Bill of Attainder or *Ex Post Facto* law be enacted.

(d) No person shall be held to answer for a crime unless served with a formal court summons nor shall

be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. A person in the military service of Alpaca shall be tried only in the military or civil courts of Alpaca, and Alpaca shall never consent to the trial of a member of its armed forces in the military or civil courts of any foreign land.

(e) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy, public and impartial trial in the district where the crime was committed and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with witnesses against him; to have compulsory service for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to be entitled to bail except in capital offenses and to have the assistance of Counsel for his defense; and not to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

(f) The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures in their persons, houses, papers and effects shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

SECTION 5. All bodies and committees shall perfect their own organization in the most practical manner except wherein otherwise provided.

SECTION 6. A branch in high schools and colleges, not to exceed 3% of the National attendance any school year, may be maintained at government ex-

pense to provide training for governmental service, but the graduates from this branch in high schools and colleges shall have no higher preference or tenure over non-graduates for governmental jobs as the letting of such jobs shall be based on merit.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. Each citizen shall be endowed with a voting power based on his age, experience, active interest and investment in government, and tax paid to the nation during his previous tax year, as he may prove to the Registration Board of his Precinct of residence, with the voting power assigned to each citizen to be graduated and cumulatively determined as follows, provided that the maximum voting power for any one citizen shall not exceed five (5) votes.

	Votes
Each citizen age 18 years or older	2
Additional votes awarded to citizens qualifying:	
a. If one of highest 25% of direct National taxpayers	2
b. If one of highest 25% to 50% of direct National taxpayers	1
c. A bonus vote for scholastic achievement, if in the highest ranking 25%, whether in grade school, high school or college graduating class based on the full year of attendance, but only for the next 8 years following the last scholastic achievement	1

d. For waiving payments from Government:

- (1) Retirement or Seniority payments 2
- (2) 50% or more of government salary 1
- (3) Previous year's total per diem payments if amounting to more than 10% of the average national salary for similar services or work 1

e. If Poll Tax voluntarily paid equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the average annual national salary 1

(Note: All averages arrived at on the basis of the previous year.)

The voting power of a direct national taxpayer, at his request, shall be increased by crediting him with the pro rata part attributable to his ownership of taxes paid by any company or enterprise in which he owns stock or an interest. The citizen, who must have resided in the Precinct three (3) or more months to qualify to vote, may register each year and may make his proof of any additional votes based on his last fiscal tax year with the Registration Board within ten (10) days to one (1) year prior to each election in which he seeks to vote. A citizen residing in the Precinct for more than two (2) years shall be subject to a penalty to be prescribed by the Senate for failure to register with the Precinct Registration Board. The tax record of each voter shall be held confidential. A wife (primary, if plural) shall exercise equal voting power with her husband.

The Constitution of ALPACA is herein instituted

on a basis of graduated suffrage (Art. IX, Sec. 1), but the ALPACA Senate has the power by majority vote to change from the graduated suffrage system and provide for uniform suffrage whereby each qualified voter shall have the same voting power. The ALPACA Senate shall also have the power, by majority vote, to revert to the graduated suffrage system first established in the Constitution; and the Supreme Court shall recognize such changes made in the suffrage stipulations as the law of the land.

AUTHOR'S COMMENT: Where the Constitution may prove inadequate it does not require circumvention, for it provides that it can be amended with definite provisions free from ambiguity and, should the urgency be great, the amendments can be made promptly while Alpacans, without hardship, remain law-abiding citizens. A written Constitution is both better than and a safeguard against any dictatorship, even a benign one.

The ALPACA Constitution was translated from English into Spanish and later in Arabic, November 1966. The Jesuit Order caused it to be translated into Vietnamese to make it available to the Assembly. The Vatican caused it to be translated into Russian and into Mandarin, which is understood by 700 million people. It was translated into German and French in March, 1967.

Jules Weill, prominent in the entertainment field in Hollywood, also caused the ALPACA Constitution to be translated into Mandarin and recordings of it were aired on radio stations in Southeast Asia, where it could be heard in North Vietnam and Mainland

China. Among the many languages to which the ALPACA Constitution has probably been translated, it is reliably reported to have been translated into Serbo-Croatian, a language understood by 14 million in Yugoslavia, and Tagalog understood by many in the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula and in Indonesia.

The ambassador from South Viet Nam to the U. S., Vu Van Thai, was in Dallas September 15, 1966. I called upon him in his hotel suite and gave him copies of the Alpaca constitution in English. He was anxious for the delegates to the Assembly and the 40 daily newspapers in South Viet Nam to be supplied with the model constitution for the people of the emerging nations.

TIME Magazine, March 24, Page 22, in a column, "South Viet Nam," stated "the delegates drafted and debated for days messages of initial greetings to the Vietnamese Army, the U. S. Army, the U.N., the people of the U. S., the people of Viet Nam. (The only reply they got was from Conservative Texas Oilman H. L. Hunt, who sent each deputy a copy of his own model rightist constitution, 'Alpaca.')

I received messages of appreciation from some of the officials from South Viet Nam and one from President Chiang Kai-Shek of Taiwan's office. President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines wrote me two or more letters of appreciation stating in one "My receipt of the Constitution of Alpaca is very timely for our Congress is scheduled to prepare some amendments on our Constitution."

During this time I wrote letters to the Editor of

S. papers calling the public's attention to the constituent Assembly. I suggested that everyone with views regarding the type of constitution South Viet Nam needed should convey their views to the South Vietnamese.

AUTOMOBILE WRECK AND
TRUCK REPAIRS

HUNT'S GARAGE

PHONE 1721
Lorton, Nebraska

QUICK SERVICE
OIL, CO. AND GLASS

Oct. 25, 1957

Mr. H. L. Hunt:
Dallas, Texas

Let's not long ago I see you listed as
the top dog (financially) and was
impressed that one with the same name
could achieve such distinction.

What the H— is the matter are
you slipping? I see you rated today
in the second string list. Now get
on the ball and get back in the top
bracket where you belong, Mr. Hunt.
Don't recognize any second raters??

Sincerely,
H. L. Hunt

H. L. HUNT
1704 MAIN STREET
DALLAS 1, TEXAS

Mr. O. Hunt
Hunt's Garage
Lorton, Nebraska

Dear Mr. Hunt:

I am replying to your letter of October 25, 1957 which
I reproduced and a copy of which I enclose. I was in Kuwait, Beirut
and London for about 6 months shortly after I received your letter.
Just before I left for the Middle East the New York Times Sunday
Magazine Section wrote me up as worth a little 'ole 2 billion and
the richest man in the world, so I was in the top bracket for a little
while, but Fortune and Life soon spoiled everything by writing me up
as 2nd to Getty.

I used your letter and these write-ups as a financial report
in my negotiations for a fantastic concession in the Middle-East.

I am sure that astute as you are you know that all of these
reports are stuff and nonsense. Your particular letter was one of
the few pieces of welcome mail which I have ever received as a result
of write-ups of this nature.

In addition to the copy of your letter I enclose some LIFE
MINE material. I have been trying to help this worthy organization.

With my very best wishes,

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

H. L. Hunt

castable

The Alpaca Waltz

JOHN JOHNNY SINGER

I WAS A CHAMPION ALPACA GUY IN THE OLD DAYS - FOR A PEACEFUL ANIMAL I WAS LADY TO BE A PRIZE WINNER - BUT WHEN I WAS DANCED TO BY HER - I WAS WITH HER LOVE VERY FONDLY - AS SHE HAD IN HAND AND SHE BY

I WAS A CHAMPION ALPACA GUY IN THE OLD DAYS - FOR A PEACEFUL ANIMAL I WAS LADY TO BE A PRIZE WINNER - BUT WHEN I WAS DANCED TO BY HER - I WAS WITH HER LOVE VERY FONDLY - AS SHE HAD IN HAND AND SHE BY

Ritard - - - - -

When ALPACA was published in 1960, Johnny Singer was the very fine leader of the orchestra at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. H. L. Hunt presented him with a copy of ALPACA, and he lost a night's sleep reading the romance. The next day he came to Hunt and said, "I would like the honor of preparing a piece of music dedicated to ALPACA." In the next three or four nights, his orchestra rehearsed and played "The Alpaca Waltz." After the Waltz proved to be popular with the diners and dancers, a friend of Johnny Singer supplied him some words to go with the music. These words have been changed from time to time.

ALPACA

How much is that book in the window?
The one that says all the smart things,
How much is that book in the window?
I do hope to learn all it brings.

I must take a trip into romance
And leave my poor sweetheart alone.
If he has a book he won't be lonesome
And Alpaca will give him new tone.

I read in the papers there were robbers
With flashlights that shine in the night,
My love needs a book to protect him,
Alpaca will turn on the light.

I don't want a bunny or a kitty,
I don't want a parrot that talks
(aside—"Polly wants a cracker")
I don't want a bowl of little fishes,
Alpaca is Jack's new bean stalks.

How much is that book in the window?
The one which my Popsy wrote,
How much is that book in the window?
You can buy without signing a note.

ALPACA

A parody on "How Much Is That Doggie In The Window," written and sung by Helen and Swanee Hunt when they were 10 and 9 years old.

APPRAISAL OF ALPACA BY HEADS OF FOREIGN NATIONS

AUSTRIA

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 19, 1966 and wish to thank you for sending me a copy of the new draft of the ALPACA Constitution.

CHINA

The President has read your book with much interest and he is grateful to you for sending it to him.

To place them where they can easily be reached, I have sent your book to six educational institutions and government agencies. I hope many of our friends will read it.

COLOMBIA

I acknowledge the receipt of and thank you for your letter of November 19 and the enclosed copies of the Constitution of Alpaca which you have published.

CYPRUS

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter and copies of your revised draft "constitution" published in your book ALPACA in 1960.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Thank you very much for sending us the enclosed brochure and material describing the constitution which you published in your book ALPACA, in 1960, and which we have found very interesting and useful.

FINLAND

Yours is a very interesting and informative accomplishment.

FRANCE

I have read with great interest the text of the Constitution which was enclosed.

You might be interested in receiving the text of the French Constitution which is enclosed. I found it to be a very valuable and interesting document.

We will keep this document in our archives and I am sure it will be used by many students of constitutional law.

HUNGARY

I will forward it to Budapest.

In the meantime allow me to send you a copy of the Hungarian constitution.

IRAN

We are always glad to receive at the Embassy of Iran any works which help to promote, as you say, the cause of freedom and thank you for bringing your publication to our attention. Should we need any further publications we will certainly contact you.

JORDAN

I wish to thank you for your letter of November 19, enclosing a copy of the 1960 Alpaca Constitution which you authored and published.

I will certainly try to look into it and will let you know my comments, if any.

LATVIA

I fully share your views that a workable constitution is a necessity in the present times. I appreciate the originality of your ideas embodied in the enclosed text. I hope that your ideas will find a following and success.

LIBERIA

Thanks for the copy of the new drafts of the constitution published in your book ALPACA in 1960.

MEXICO

It was very good of you to send me copies of the Constitution for a mythical country—Alpaca—which you have drafted having in view the problems and needs of emerging nations.

PERU

It certainly represents a tremendous amount of work on your part, and I appreciate your making it available to me.

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

President Ferdinand E. Marcos wrote me October 11, 1966, thanking me for "... the Constitution of Alpaca, A Mythical Country. Congratulations and more power to you. ..." On January 20, 1967, he wrote in part, "... My receipt of the Constitution of Alpaca is very timely for our Congress is scheduled to prepare some amendments on our Constitution ..."

SOUTH AFRICA

I should like to thank you for your letter of 19th

November, 1966, addressed to the Ambassador, which has been read with interest.

SPAIN

Your project is very interesting, and you were kind to send it to me.

The world is indeed fortunate that there are still men who are concerned about the forms of government and the future of all nations. May their concern always lead to better understanding and cooperation between all nations.

THAILAND

On behalf of the Ambassador who is at present on an official mission, I wish to express our thanks and appreciation for the above letter and for the constitution of ALPACA. I need hardly assure you that the constitution will be studied with great interest.

REPUBLIC OF TOGO

Je vous remercie au nom de l'Ambassadeur du Togo, Docteur Robert Ajavon, pour votre aimable lettre du 19 Novembre 1966 par laquelle vous avez bien voulu nous faire parvenir quelques numéros de la "Constitution d'Alpaca".

Ce document très intéressant a retenu toute mon attention et m'a permis de me rendre compte des valeurs morales qui ont été à la base de sa rédaction.

UGANDA

I dare to suggest that it is a good constitution which could be utilized profitably by some of the emerging nations.

URUGUAY

I have forwarded a copy of the draft to the Law School of the University of Montevideo as I am sure that their Seminar on Constitutional Law will find it most interesting.

VIETNAM

I wish to thank you very much for the Constitution of ALPACA, a Mythical Country, which you recently sent to me.

The Prime Minister, Air Vice Marshal NGUYEN-CAO-KY, has instructed me to convey his sincere thanks to you and to refer your document to our Constituent Assembly for study.

UN OR PEACE LEAGUE?

NUMBER: 66-D

June 15, 1965

High Spots Opposite Asterisks

OPEN: This is LIFE LINE, Melvin Munn from Dallas.

With so much talk today about the United Nations, we tend to overlook many of the events leading up to its formation. Especially are we inclined to forget its predecessor, a former international organization called the League of Nations. This world body was the product of World War I, and principally the ideas of General Smuts, Leon Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil.

The chief figure in the founding of the league at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 was President Woodrow Wilson. On January 10th of the following year, 1920, the league was officially established at Geneva, Switzerland. Despite intensive efforts, Pres-

ident Wilson was unable to persuade the United State Senate to confirm the league as a treaty. Primarily responsible for blocking ratification were Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Hiram Johnson.

Twenty-six years later, in 1946, on the same date it was established, the League of Nations was dissolved. At that time Mr. H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas was deeply involved in helping formulate a sound, workable peace league plan. And he has subsequently contributed significant ideas on such a proposal.

In April of 1946, the League of Nations closed its work and gave its physical assets to the United Nations. But how did the successor to this world organization come into being?

• In the fall of 1944, in the Georgetown area of the capital, the Dumbarton Oaks conference was held. It was followed, during the first week of February of the next year, by the Crimean Conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Yalta. There it was agreed to call a conference on April 25th. This was done; and representatives of 39 nations met in San Francisco to form the United Nations.

Meanwhile, Mr. H. L. Hunt, who had watched closely the events leading to the formation of the League of Nations and had studied its activities carefully, viewed with concern those events leading up to the San Francisco conference. He did not believe it desirable or feasible for this country to participate in a world organization. However, he realized that, in all probability, one would be formed.

Having considerable knowledge of the international Communist conspiracy and mistrusting some

of President Roosevelt's close advisers and some in the State Department, he had cause for concern. Yet he was not fully aware of the philosophies of Harry Dexter White, who had been so influential at Dumbarton Oaks, or of Alger Hiss, who played such a key role at San Francisco. It is generally conceded that these two men provided the basis for the present formula for the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Hoping that some of the mistakes which might be made at San Francisco could be avoided, Mr. Hunt prepared a plan for a world organization. First writing the plan in narrative form, he next outlined it, to be placed in the hands of some of the world leaders. His plan was sent to the late Winston Churchill, Dulles and others, who later attended the gathering in San Francisco. This he did, expecting that these men would be highly influential in the preparation of a peace league.

Mr. Hunt was motivated by a sincere desire to assist in a constructive manner in the preparation of the charter which he felt would be enacted. When the wording of the UN Charter was made public, he was deeply disappointed that his Peace League Plan had not been used.

• Just what was his plan? And why the need for any world organization? The author himself explained that nuclear developments today give more reason than heretofore for nations to be organized in a world-wide body.

With reference to the United Nations, he points out that the Soviets undoubtedly can win any vote

they wish in its General Assembly. Despite their repeated threats to withdraw from the UN, he is of the opinion that the Russian communists probably will remain—since the UN serves their aims so conveniently and so well.

Mr. Hunt does point out, however, that Soviet Russia's membership in that world body serves one purpose approved by American patriots. And that is, that Russia no doubt will refuse to permit admission of Red China to the UN.

He warns, though, that if the United Nations is not reformed, affording the United States voting power commensurate with its assets and responsibilities, we should withdraw from it—if we are to survive!

In this connection, it is quite true that certain UN reforms have been suggested. From time to time thoughtful and courageous Americans have advanced proposals for changing the charter. Deeply conscious of the ineffectiveness of the UN as presently constituted, the late President Hoover proposed that a world body of free nations be organized.

° Constructive plans and suggestions notwithstanding, the propaganda machinery of the UN and its one-world advocates is so powerful that little is ever heard of these plans. And in the minds of many unthinking people, the UN has become so sacrosanct that reforms or alternate plans are automatically discouraged—sometimes cruelly attacked.

The author of the books, *Alpaca, Govern Thyself*, *Why not Speak?* and *Fabians Fight Freedom*, for many years has fought to preserve our Freedom

way of life. No Johnny-come-lately on the scene, he drew up a blue print for a workable peace league during World War II. His ideas were submitted to some of the world leaders before the UN Charter was drafted. Unfortunately, Alger Hiss and others of a different philosophy were successful in drafting the accepted plan which now governs the operations of the United Nations.

The three aims of Mr. Hunt's plan were: to enforce treaties ending present wars; to prevent future wars; and to set up and maintain an Arbitration Council.

° But why a peace league? Here are his own words of explanation: "Great wars cannot be justified; the cost in loss of life, health, faith, ethics and property, is far too great. The things fought for are seldom realized by the victors. The causes are generally trivial, and the results are that nothing is satisfactorily settled."

He went on to say that "If great wars are absolutely prevented, there may be expected such an advance in civilization that gradually equity and justice will become understood, and so popularized that the working of these principles will be depended upon."

Mr. Hunt then prophesied that, "the simple exercise of them will result in adjustments taking place in national and international affairs, so that society will become workable and livable with a minimum of jealousy and strife."

He proposed that nations at war with Germany and Japan, or those that had broken relations with them, be asked to voluntarily agree as to the share

of each in the control and responsibilities of the Peace League. Each nation's percentage would be determined by joint consideration of these particular factors:

The nation's contribution to repelling the forces of oppression in World Wars I and II; its population; the nation's standard of education and state of enlightenment; its record of non-aggression; a nation's wholesome commerce; its assets; and the extent and nature of its area.

He was careful to include a provision whereby additional nations, by treaty with the Peace League, might be admitted. A safeguard was written in, providing for the percentage participation to be surrendered by Peace League members in the same proportion as the participation of each.

This particular part of the proposed plan is of great importance today when more and more small, newly emerged nations are being admitted to the United Nations. It is highly significant today when the United Nations' very existence is being threatened by Russia's refusal to pay its debt to the United Nations. And it is cause for sober reflection by the American taxpayer who sees his country paying the lion's share of the operations of this constantly enlarging world body.

In an effort to police some of its own extravagant financial policies, the United Nations Advisory Committee asked for a budget ceiling. However, as is the case in most bureaucratic bodies, the call for thrift is exceedingly unpopular and generally goes unheeded. The UN has proved to be no exception.

Meanwhile its fiscal problems mount with each passing hour.

° But let's turn back to the 1945 outline for a Peace League plan, as proposed by H. L. Hunt. The architect of this outline envisioned an Advisory Board, to be selected from representatives to the League. These men would arbitrate and render decisions on issues as they would arise.

Provision was made for the withdrawal of nations desiring to do so, and for their share of the operating costs would be prorated among the remaining nations.

The plan also called for the selection of seven members to an Arbitration Council. These men would be elected by the Assembly and no more than one Council member from the same nation would serve at any one time. He foresaw the Arbitration Council attracting the world's greatest men. And he predicted that these men, while serving on the Council, would dismiss all selfish interests of the nation from which they came, if conflicting with the greatest good. The candidates offered by each nation, he concluded, would be chosen from the heads of the government, the chief justices of their courts, their greatest legislators, cabinet members, ambassadors, and representatives to the Peace League Assembly.

To these men would be entrusted the responsibility for formulating an International Code to supplant the then existing international law, the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow declaration, and all such similar rules and declarations, as outlined in this 1945 plan.

° This Council of arbitrators would, through the

fairness and justice of its decisions, be a medium for their enforcement rather than an arm of enforcement of international law. And the author explained that enforcement would be dependent upon public opinion, except that the Council might request disputants to pledge that they would abide by the decision to be handed down by the Council.

Mr. Hunt saw the pronouncements, rulings and decisions of the council accorded the dignity of international law by the Peace League Assembly. Here he inserted another safe-guard. He noted that since the Assembly was primarily required to prevent war, he said the decisions of the council would not be binding upon the assembly in case that body decided that such decisions might endanger world peace, unless the assembly had agreed in advance of the decision to enforce it.

Because of the great interest in this peace league proposal, the complete outline appears as an Appendix to Mr. Hunt's latest book, *Fabians Fight Freedom*. Students of history and of political science will find this blueprint for a world body thought-provoking. For the many who deplore US continued participation in the UN as presently organized, the plan presents some challenging ideas.

The Peace League plan is also a forceful reply to the cry of the Farleft, to those who unthinkingly accuse constructives of criticizing but never offering an alternate or better solution. It merits the attention of all Freedom-loving people.

Until we meet again, remember: The Peace League plan was ignored in favor of the Philosophy of Harry

Dexter White at Dumbarton Oaks and Alger Hiss at San Francisco, which provided the present formula for the General Assembly of the UN.

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Youth Freedom Speakers, now under way, can expand worldwide at the same time they are becoming nationwide. These 15 to 23 year old speakers who are popular in delivering their 3-minute speeches to service clubs, churches, on radio and TV, are a completely natural weapon for the truth side. Every church junior choir can become a greater choir and do far more in defeating the atheistic enemies if it is represented by one or two Youth Freedom Speakers who, in addition to speaking about public affairs, can testify and "witness for Christ." If they now number 300, they can soon number 1,000; and when there are 10,000, they will begin realizing their goal of cutting the crime wave in half. When there are 50,000 Youth Freedom Speakers, we can begin bringing our soldiers back home; and when there are 100,000 throughout the world, wars may become a thing of the past and communism collapse unless it is a better system of society than individual initiative and profit motive.

The Board of Counselors of adult professional men and women who find working with youth keeps them young, can engage in the very best national and state nondenominational and nonpartisan activities.

There are 1,100,000 letter-to-the-editor writers, and any brief letter on a neglected subject can spur other

on the average would activate just one other person to the Freedom cause every 3 months, in 6 months there would be 8 million active patriots and in a year 32 million. This formula does not ask for one active participant to win one other each day or each week, but one freedomist each 3 months. Unquestionably, any active patriot can be expected to activate another person in 3 months. Soon the spirit of liberty would overflow to foreign lands, and so long as the contests are between liberty and slavery, war might be outmoded. If there are a few who could stir none, there will be clergymen, teachers, or "good mixers" who might inspire 20 or more bringing up the average.

Never feel that working for Freedom means you must labor and suffer under a heavy burden. Freedom is a grand and joyous idea and working for it can be sheer delight. Find what you can best do for Freedom each day and do it with a glad heart. Be optimistic and cheerful; have confidence in yourself and the rightness of your cause. Sometimes friends of Freedom get the reputation of being tired, discouraged complainers and are nearly always defamed as reactionaries. Many situations look bad, but the promise of Freedom gives us the very best of all hopes.

Never go to sleep at night without knowing you have spent 10 or more minutes that day in the service of Christianity and Freedom. If you have not, telephone, asking others to join the 10-minute crusade until you catch up and are on schedule. It may seem you can do nothing in 10 minutes, but when millions

of us pursue this crusade there will be 20 million hours per day devoted to this great cause, a force for Freedom which atheism and Communism cannot overcome.

Ask gifted friends to write letters to the Editor of 150 words or less taking a pro-Freedom stand on neglected subjects. The side using the truth has great advantage in the forum debate, which is the most widely read of anything back of the front page. Letters are available for review 15 minutes or 15 days later. Commend the writers of good letters and commend the newspaper for publishing them. Patriots sometimes complain of "managed news," but the letterwriter can "manage" the news he creates. He will reach public officials if his letter is published and can send copies of all letters he has written editors. If a paper fails to publish his letter, the officials will learn which side the paper is on. If he will cause 3 or 4 friends to sign their name and address on a copy of the letter beneath his signature and a "note," reading: "I approve of the above," the copy of his letter to the editor becomes a short petition, which is the most effective of any petition.

Form acquaintances with patriotic members of the communications media. Nearly every publication and radio or television station has at least one active patriot on its staff. Find, encourage, and befriend them. They may often feel alone and helpless. Let them know that you are for them. Mail clippings to writers which will be helpful to them in preparing editorials, and alert them to news developments which constitute good news for the cause of liberty.

Byline writers on any subject have a part in forming public opinion and are good people for a Freedom advocate to know.

The press has the facilities and capabilities in its personnel to save its freedom. In trying to save freedom of the press, it will save many other freedoms vital to the continuance of our Republic. With the present trend in the United States, people of the press may find it important to save its very existence and their chosen vocation.

For each 100,000 population in the U.S., there is one daily paper published. In Communist countries the nearest approach to this U.S. ratio is Czechoslovakia, where 7 times as many people are required to support a daily; in Rumania, 14 times as many; in the Soviet Union, 47 times as many; and in Red China, 850 times as many as in the U.S.A.

These statistics are seldom published, but newspapermen are aware of them. Nevertheless, they are inclined to discredit and condemn patriots who oppose communism and are dedicated to the Constitution which is the lifeline of our Republic. Newsmen could have no better friends than patriots, for their jobs are dependent on a high percent of patriots. Some of them may not yet understand the difference between a Republic and a democracy.

Patronize and support the shows of producers who never put anything in their shows that would discredit immortals of American history or heroes of the present, and commend both the producers and theaters carrying these shows. The shows which carry sly lines or scenes that discredit the American way of

life should never be supported by the Liberty Legions. The same is true of TV and radio.

Liberty Legions must not take time out from their great mission for any bitterness and hate. "Hate" belongs to the enemies which assail them. They use it effectively, but let them have it. Freedomists must rely on truth and reason.

Encourage young people to avoid filthy reading material and to read wholesome publications. Keep a careful watch on required and recommended reading matter at your school and help circulate good material. Help arrange essay and speaking contests on patriotic themes.

Find out how you can help cut down juvenile delinquency and build up active patriotism together with an ennobling way of life among our young people. Work through your school, Sunday School, Church, or any constructive youth group. Young people are fun and will keep you young.

YOUTH FREEDOM SPEAKERS, age 15 to 23, are in demand on TV and are planned to feature a **LIFE LINE** once-a-week, 30-minute TV show.

Listen attentively and applaud or encourage a speaker as soon as he makes a point for patriotism. In that way you become "part of the act" and encourage the speaker to excel.

If you feel alone in your patriotic endeavor, enlist a group which will act with you.

Groups may try to accelerate liberty action by 1% per week. Four percent per month would be cumulative and when compounded, would amount to 100% in 20 months. Everyone connected with the move-

ment would know they have "done something." Members of these groups will vie with each other and propel their group to expand its activities to all its contacts and as individuals become dedicated missionaries for Freedom.

If you are reaching retirement age, don't retire from life. Start a hobby of saving Freedom. You will find your friends far more interested in what you think about saving Freedom than in what you have to tell them about a big day once at the office or on the golf course.

Nearly all speakers like to ad lib and can effectively ad lib for liberty. The one-minute Freedom Talks which can be prepared for speaking or for use in ordinary conversation may be termed "Liberty Libs." Many who are mute in trying to express praise for the land they love may become useful speakers in the cause of Freedom through preparing themselves to deliver extemporaneous LIBERTY LIBS.

Prepare yourself to make a brief one-minute talk for Freedom whenever you get any possible chance. Then prepare another one-minute talk, and then another. These brief talks should stress some striking fact or idea that listeners will remember and wish to repeat.

Do not insist that our greatest enemy has a personal and selfish motive in what he says. He may not have any greedy notions for himself. He often has the fanatical conviction that his way will produce a perfect society even if it takes five hundred years; and the end justifies the means, even if sometimes force and murder.

Do not spend valuable time arguing with the enemy. You are likely to find the atheist and dictator-minded far better trained in debate than you. He has been practicing for a long time. If you can reach his dupes, you can often convert them by stating the case for Christianity and Freedom, and leaving them to think it over.

When you become active in promoting Christianity and Freedom, everything you do will remind you of numerous other things you can do and will wish to do. Resist the attempt which is being imported to destroy belief in God. There is power in prayer. More than 100 million prayers each day are offered in our country. The independence of our Nation can be safeguarded if many will include these simple words or their substance in every prayer they utter, "Guide us in the best ways to save the independence of our Nation." Commend clergymen for the battle they must wage against atheistic communism and equally atheistic socialism.

A clergyman's words are more than law to his congregation; if he is willing to preach against sin, communism and crime simultaneously, he is entitled to the largest audience and will be rewarded with a larger number of converts through his ministry. The clergyman who extols freedom, condemns atheism and causes the choir to sing a patriotic song, will gain twice as many new members as if he treated the communist menace as something which should not be mentioned.

The following books by H. L. Hunt may be ordered post-paid from LIFE LINE, Dallas, Tex., 75206:

WHY NOT SPEAK,
192 pages, soft-cover.....\$.75

FABIANS FIGHT FREEDOM,
192 pages, soft-cover..... .75

HUNT FOR TRUTH,
254 pages, soft-cover..... .95

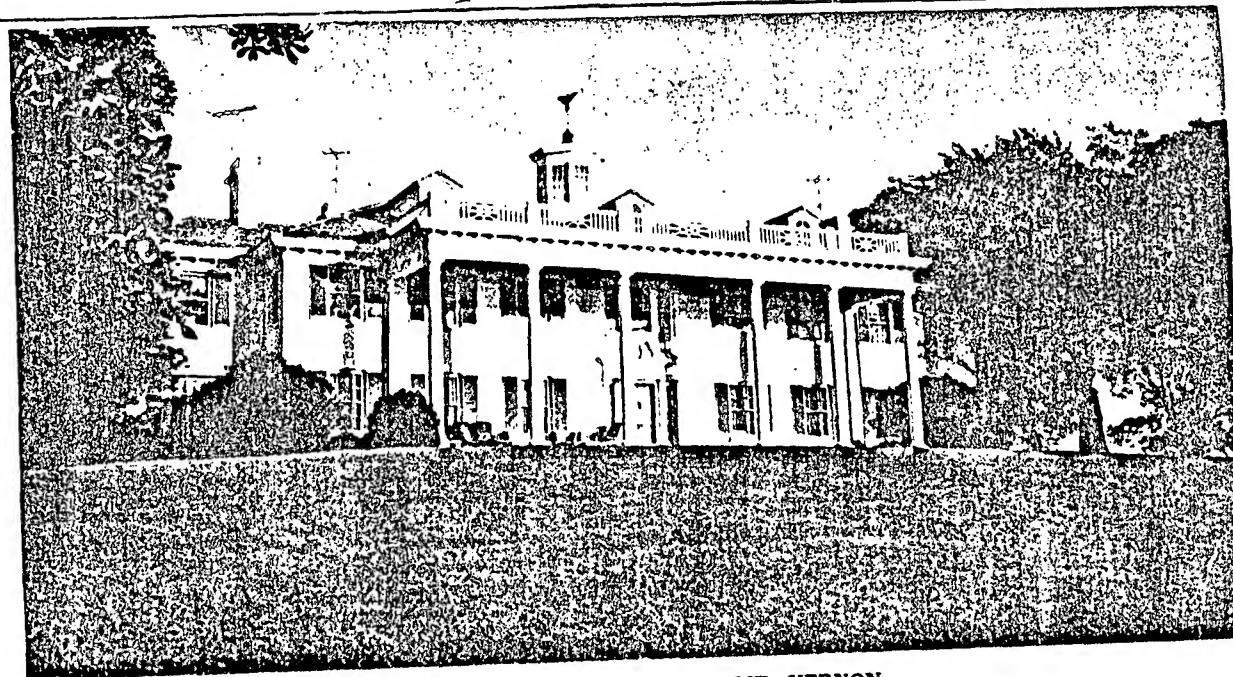
H L H COLUMNS,
192 pages, soft-cover..... .75

JULIE BENELL'S FAVORITE
RECIPES, (Published by
H L H Products)..... 3.95
"PLAYBOY" Interview..... .25, 5 for \$1.00

RIGHT OF AVERAGE,
192 pages, soft-cover..... .75 Delivery Nov. 1, 1967

ALPACA REVISITED,
192 pages..... 4.00 Delivery Oct. 17, 1967

ALPACA REVISITED,
224 pages, soft-cover..... 1.00 Delivery Oct. 24, 1967

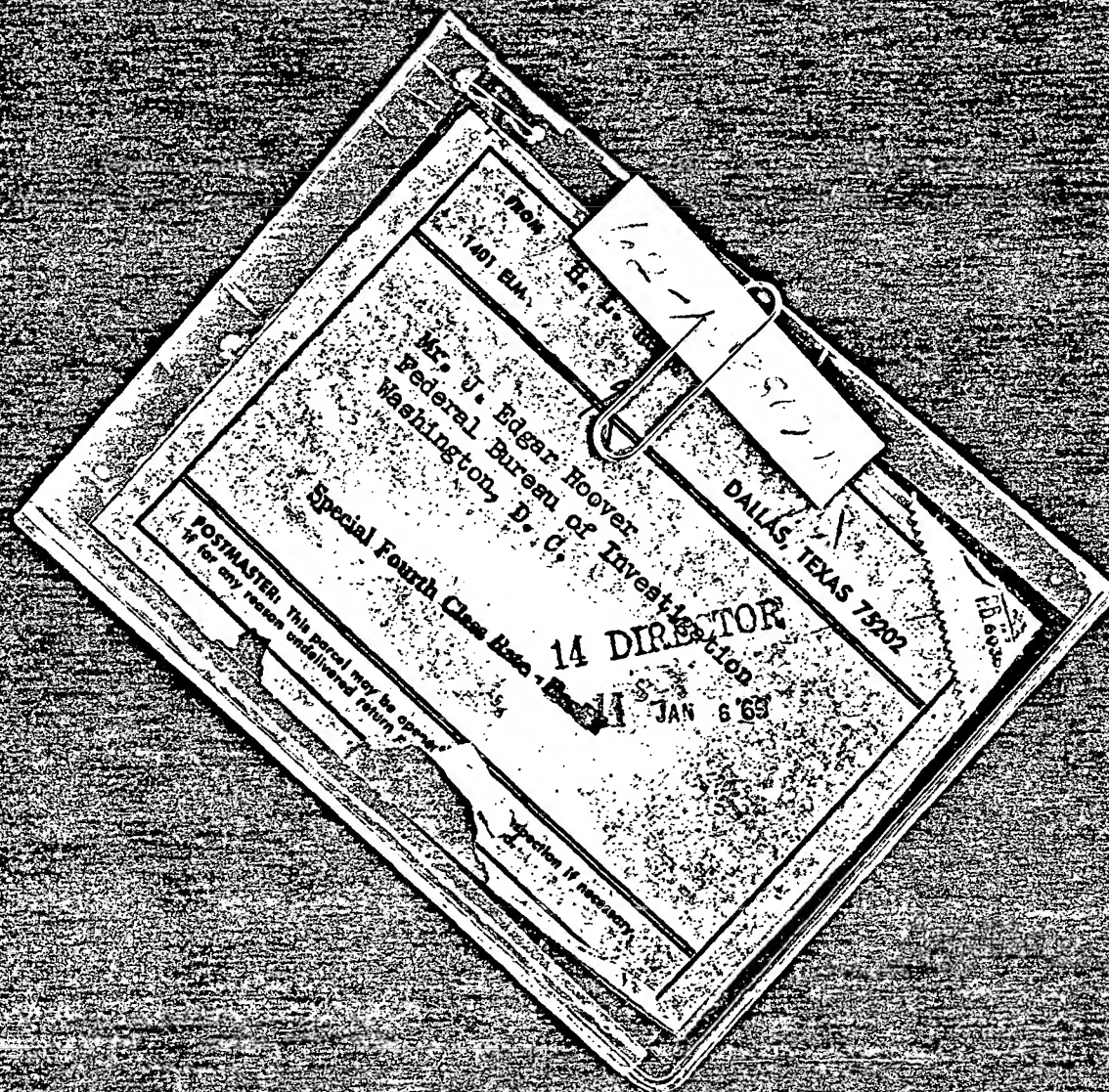


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H. L. HUNT





*Holiday
Greetings*

FROM OUR HOUSE TO YOUR HOUSE

*Let each of us do all we can
to preserve Republic U.S.A.*

for people of emerging nations
CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA
A Mythical Country

By H. L. HUNT

PREAMBLE

We, the people of Alpaca, yearning to achieve a just, stable and lasting form of government and to assure tranquility and peace to ourselves and our posterity, do hereby ordain and establish this the Constitution of Alpaca.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. An informed and responsible electorate being basic to lasting government, all citizens of Alpaca, male or female, eighteen (18) years of age or older at the time of an election shall without educational, mental or other tests have the right to vote.

Only citizens age twenty-two (22) years or older, except in the Military, shall hold positions, namely offices, posts, or as delegates, in the Government of Alpaca. Members of the military age eighteen (18) years or older may serve as delegates and hold other positions in the Military branch of government, but in no other position. "Term," as used in this Constitution, unless otherwise provided when used and except the initial four (4) and eight (8) year terms required to establish the twelve (12) year term pattern, shall mean a continuous tenure in position of twelve (12) years with ineligibility to serve in the same capacity beyond twelve (12) years until one (1) year shall have elapsed. In initial elections and nominations, those named to the four (4) year, eight (8) year and twelve (12) year terms must be designated. Occupancy of or termination of any position shall not constitute ineligibility for acceptance of service in any other position. Ineligibility to again be chosen for service in the same capacity without the lapse of one (1) year makes rotation a reality. Proper rotation in position stimulates the highest efficiency and provides the most economical administration of government. Service to fill vacancies and unexpired terms of seven (7) years or less does not invoke ineligibility. Any citizen convicted of participating in any subterfuge or plan to defeat this ineligibility clause shall never thereafter vote or serve in a government position.

SECTION 2. The Provinces of Alpaca shall be divided into voting Precincts. Each Precinct shall be formed to comprise as nearly as practicable two thousand (2,000) potential voters. If any Precinct exceeds three thousand (3,000) potential voters a committee chosen by the highest College of legislative delegates representing the legislative district in which said Precinct is located shall in a reasonable time redistrict the Precincts to disturb the former Precinct boundaries as little as possible and yet conform as closely as practicable to the pattern of two thousand (2,000) total of potential voters per Precinct, and a remnant Precinct, if required, may comprise any lesser number of voters.

SECTION 3. The voters within a Precinct shall elect a Registration Board for that Precinct which shall consist of three (3) members each to serve one (1) term, one (1) of whom shall be elected every four (4) years. The Registration Board shall select and provide election judges and the clerical help and facilities necessary to hold elections.

Each Registration Board shall maintain a registration office at which every citizen must register prior to December 31 of each year to qualify to vote in the ensuing year. This registration is mandatory. Any citizen failing to register except through circumstances beyond his control shall forfeit the right to vote for a five (5) year period.

Precinct elections shall be held at publicized polling places each four (4) years at the month, day and hours set by the Senate and shall consist of a first election and a second election. In the first election the names appearing on the ballot shall be decided by petitions. The Registration Board, beginning six (6) months prior to each election, shall make available in convenient form petitions for registered voters of the Precinct who wish to nominate citizens for certain positions to be on the Precinct ballot of the first election. Any registered voter can appear during office hours and sign a petition showing the date of signature and their preference for one different citizen to fill each position for as many positions as are to be filled for which he elects to declare. Friends of citizens may circulate petitions of a similar nature to be dated when filed with the Precinct Registration Board on behalf of citizens who are willing to have their names appear on the ballot as candidates for specified positions for submission to the electorate. A Petitioner shall be limited to naming only one citizen for each position and only his nomination to fill a position first filed with the Registration Board shall be counted. The five (5) high named persons in petitions for each position, as well as all other persons named by five per cent (5%) of the Precinct electorate for that position, shall be printed on the ballot. After the results of the first election have been decided the names of the two (2) persons receiving the highest vote for each position shall appear on the ballot for the second election which shall be held two (2) weeks after the first election. The citizen receiving the highest vote for each position in the second election shall be certified by the Registration Board as elected. In case of a tie, the Registration Board shall name the winner. Precinct elections shall be by secret ballot, all higher elections by open ballot. All special, municipal and school elections shall be similarly conducted.

SECTION 4. In casting votes to fill offices the voters in each Precinct shall elect separate delegates for each of the three (3) main branches of government, being the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government, and also for the Military, a minor branch of government. Each Precinct shall elect six (6) delegates in each of the three main branches of government, two (2) being elected each four (4) years to serve a term, Place Number 1 delegates to fill necessary local or regional offices, Place Number 2 delegates to vote for higher officials and delegates to form a College to elect even higher officials or delegates to an even higher College. Each Precinct shall also elect three (3) Military Branch delegates, who may or may not be in the Military, one (1) to be elected each four (4) years for a term. All Military delegates shall have the same duties and act in the combined capacity of the Place Number 1 and Place Number 2 delegates in the three (3) main branches of government. Delegates shall always cast a vote equal to the value of the total registered voting power of the Precinct or area they represent.

SECTION 5. The Precinct delegates for each branch of government shall meet and vote with delegates of their branch of government from other contiguous Precincts authorized by the Senate to comprise a "College." A College shall not exceed three hundred (300) delegates, except the highest College shall contain from one hundred one (101) to four hundred (400) delegates. Elections shall be held in elective Colleges one (1) month after the delegates voting in said elections have been chosen. The College elections shall be held in the same manner and under the same rules as the Precinct elections except the voting will be by open ballot until the highest Colleges of a pyramidal system have been chosen to fill the highest offices in Alpaca. Each College shall fill the required offices wholly within its College district which have not been filled at a lower level and shall elect from its number or other citizens of the College district six (6) delegates, two (2) to be elected each four (4) years; each to serve a term until the highest College required in each branch of government has been elected. Each delegate may serve in the same branch of government in any number of such positions to which he may be elected from Precinct or College. He shall not serve as a delegate while holding an elective or appointive office. Should any delegate or official be convicted of participating in any trade or exchange of support with other delegates or officials he shall be guilty of bribery, disqualified from further service in the government of Alpaca and liable for all penalties for bribery.

SECTION 6. Should twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct electorate petition the Precinct Registration Board in a manner similar to the naming of citizens to appear on the ballot by petition asking that the Precinct electorate vote directly for citizens to fill the offices essential within the Precinct, the Registration Board shall call a special election one (1) year prior to the next general election to vote upon petitioners' request. If a two-thirds (2/3ds) majority of the Precinct electorate voting in the special election approves this change in the Precinct elective procedure, thereafter the citizens to fill all positions within the Precinct shall be elected by a direct vote until such time as twenty per cent (20%) of the Precinct electorate petitions the Registration Board for a return to the delegate system originally provided in the Constitution and in a special election called by the Registration Board vote by a majority for restoration of the original delegate system.

SECTION 7. Delegates to the highest College in each branch of government shall elect nine (9) members of a Vacancy Committee to serve their branch of government, three (3) members to be elected each four (4) years for a term. Each Vacancy Committee shall by majority vote fill any vacancy occurring in any office within their branch for a vacancy term until the next general election, at which time the office will be filled by balloting for the remainder of the unexpired term, and shall in the same manner fill vacancies occurring in their own committee.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The legislative power of Alpaca shall be vested solely in a Senate and Legislative Veto Board.

SECTION 2. Alpaca shall be divided into forty (40) legislative districts, each representing as nearly as practicable one-fortieth (1/40th) of the national population. A legislative district need not be confined within the borders of a province. Each legislative district shall be represented by three (3) Senators, each age twenty-eight (28) years or older, one (1) Senator to be elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that in the first election, one shall be elected to a 4-year term, one to an 8-year term and one to a 12-year term. A Senator need not be a resident of the district which he represents, but during his Senate term shall not represent any other district or area in the Senate or serve in any other position. In voting in the Senate, each Senator shall cast a vote equal to the total registered voting power of his district. The Senate shall elect from its number a Chairman, a First Vice-Chairman and a Second Vice-Chairman, each for a two (2) year period, the Chairman being ineligible to further serve as Chairman until the lapse of one (1) year. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint Presiding Officers and Parliamentarians, from among experienced persons, age seventy (70) years or less, who are not members of the Senate, and shall appoint other operating personnel. The Senate shall at all times keep the Senate Chairmanship filled; and should a vacancy occur without any Vice-Chairman to succeed to the position, then the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board shall call the Senate in special session. Redistricting of legislative districts when needed shall be made by a committee appointed by the Senate.

SECTION 3. The highest College of legislative delegates shall elect a Legislative Veto Board of three (3) members, each age thirty-six (36) or older, one (1)

to be elected each four (4) years for a term. The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint one (1) of these three (3) as Chairman and one (1) as First Assistant Chairman, and the chairmanship shall rotate each year. The Legislative Veto Board shall continuously advise with the Senate Budget Staff and other Budget Staffs. By a two-thirds vote, the Legislative Veto Board may veto any law passed by the Senate, in which event, the Senate can by a two-thirds (2/3ds) vote, re-enact the law over their veto.

SECTION 4. All legislation expires at the end of twelve (12) years after its enactment unless it be re-enacted by the Senate thirty (30) or more days before its expiration. The re-enactment unchanged of expiring legislation shall not be subject to veto.

SECTION 5. The Senate shall establish an equitable and uniform system of taxation. The combined total of all taxes, national, school, municipal or special district, except head tax and occupancy tax provided in Article II, Section 10 and Section 12, to prevent confiscation, shall be contained within the percentage of valuation as follows:

1. Annual Property Tax—fixed rate between $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1% and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ %
2. Import Tax—variable rate between 0% and 100%, depending on article
3. Export Tax—variable rate between 0% and 50%, depending on article
4. Severance Tax on Natural Resources—variable rate between 0% to 25%, depending on article
5. Gift Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 15%
6. Inheritance Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%
7. Production or Manufacturing Tax—a fixed rate on each article
 - (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%
 - (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%
8. Income Tax—graduated rate from 0% to 25%
9. Sales Tax—a fixed rate on each article
 - (1) On luxury items, including alcoholic beverages and tobacco—fixed rate between 0% and 100%
 - (2) On necessity items—fixed rate between 0% and 4%
10. Franchise Tax—fixed rate of 0% to 2% of volume of business

Tax exemption shall not be permitted on any property owned or used by the government, nor on property, resources or income used in philanthropies of any nature, however worthy, except solely for advancing medical science, care of the sick, and public enlightenment to promote personal initiative and individual liberty.

Contributions by individuals to Alpacan religious institutions or contributions made through the religious institutions to programs supported partly or entirely by religious organizations and engaged only in advancing medical science, caring for the sick, or promoting personal initiative or any combination thereof, would be deductible limited to 20 per cent of the taxpayer's income for the year.

AUTHOR'S 1966 COMMENT: ALPACA elects to give planners of constitutions their choice between "universal suffrage" with the voting power of each voter equal to the voting power of all other voters or "graduated suffrage" whereby some voters may have earned a bonus in voting power above the average voter.

In presenting these two plans for suffrage, it is convenient that this draft of the constitution contain provisions for "graduated suffrage," as recited in Article IX, which provisions should not be used in preparing a constitution providing for "straight universal suffrage."

Taxpayers in a position to lose bonus votes by being dropped into a lower tax bracket through deductions would be so dropped unless they indicated to the contrary on filing their income reports. An organization professing adherence to a religion would be considered a religious institution by the Alpacan government only if the religion espoused by the persons comprising the religious organization acknowledges the existence of a Supreme Being. Assessments shall not be made against taxpayers of certain classes during the time the cost of collection from them would exceed fifty per cent (50%) of the revenue to be collected. Only such taxes shall be imposed in the order above recited, in the percentage deemed proper within the percentage limitation, as are essential to finance the government. Taxes shall be assessed to maintain the financial stability of the government; but the power to tax shall never be used as a power to destroy, promote philosophic objectives, or transform society in any manner except to discourage the use or consumption of harmful substances. In computing the tax on the production and sale of irreplaceable natural resources, including timber, and income therefrom, the Senate shall fix an allowance for the depletion of capital value of these resources. There shall be no payroll tax of any character whatever, and no withholding from payrolls shall be made except for voluntary health and life insurance and for income tax when legalized. Taxes shall not be assessed nor tax money spent except for purposes authorized by this Constitution.

SECTION 6. The Senate shall enact legislation for the establishment of a postal system, post offices and post roads to be operated by the Government, or if more efficient and economical by contract with privately owned companies; the arrest of persons for crime, rules of criminal procedure and punishment; the Standard

of Weights and Measures, and regulating commerce with foreign nations. The Senate shall appropriate adequate funds for maintenance of the Military Branch after advising with the Commander in Chief and the National Policy Committee; and shall maintain a budget staff to recommend the levying of taxes and appropriations constituting national budgets and to confer with any budget staffs maintained by the Executive or Military Branches.

SECTION 7. The Senate shall enact legislation providing for the coinage of money, the issuance of currencies and other governmental securities, the unit value Pack, based on and redeemable in ten (10) kilograms of wheat or rice of standard grade, whichever is of lesser value, or quantities equal in value of other available commodities, or redeemable in any subsequent issue of Pack at their comparative commodity values. The Senate may revalue the commodity value of the Pack when necessary, but not more often than three (3) years from the last revaluation, but such revaluation shall not change the commodity values of previously issued Pack. The Government shall make available within Alpaca designated redemption points convenient to the public but may require twenty (20) days' notice for distribution of commodities. The Cent shall be $\frac{1}{100}$ th of the Pack in its subdivision and the Kilo $\frac{1}{10}$ th. The Pack and the multiples thereof shall be issued in currency and its $\frac{1}{100}$ th, $\frac{1}{20}$ th, $\frac{1}{10}$ th and $\frac{1}{4}$ th subdivisions shall be in coin which is redeemable in Pack of any issue but not redeemable in commodities.

SECTION 8. The Senate shall enact laws regulating the admission of aliens into Alpaca under such terms, conditions and durations as it may deem proper, together with rules governing the naturalization of self-supporting aliens who lawfully reside in Alpaca. Continued allegiance of any naturalized Alpaca citizen to a foreign country being established by judicial decree shall result in the revocation of Alpaca citizenship and prompt deportation of such person. If such allegiance to a foreign country includes treason, such person shall first be tried for such treason. All persons born or naturalized in Alpaca and maintaining active allegiance and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of Alpaca.

SECTION 9. The Senate may enact laws applicable only to certain local areas. Upon receiving a petition of twenty per cent (20%) of Precinct legislative delegates representing any area seeking a national law applicable to that area only, the Senate shall appoint a committee to hold hearings and conduct investigations as to the need for such special legislation; this committee need not include any member of the Senate and shall report to the Senate's general committee for localized laws, and the Senate may enact a national law applicable to any particular area within Alpaca, effective after a majority vote of acceptance by the Precinct legislative delegates representing said area.

SECTION 10. School Legislation shall be local laws enacted in the school district or other school divisions conforming to the Constitution. School elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Board of Precincts wholly or partly within the school district with only qualified citizens residing within the area voting. Only school elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. Taxes necessary to maintain schools shall be assessed on parents or guardians for each of their children age five (5) to seventeen (17) years at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack per child within the school district; and a head tax assessed on each other adult person residing within the school district at a fixed rate of two (2) to six (6) Pack; and taxes assessed on the same but not fully used sources of tax authorized subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

SECTION 11. The Government shall require that children from six (6) through fourteen (14) years of age whose health permits attend a qualified school or be otherwise adequately tutored.

Children, three to five years old, who, in kindergarten pass examinations disclosing that they are qualified to enter grades with children above five years of age, may be accepted in higher grades for which they qualify if their parents desire.

The Government shall provide boarding and day school facilities, where needed, for the tutelage of the mentally inadequate.

Parents and guardians shall be responsible for each child's attendance or instruction. Those directly concerned shall be in charge of policies, administration, control and the raising of funds, but the Government shall require that the annual minimum salary for all teachers and instructors in the educational field shall be thirty per cent (30%) or more greater than the average highest pay for the highest paid ten per cent (10%) of unskilled hourly or per diem wage earners in the area.

SECTION 12. Charters, by-laws and laws to govern municipalities may be enacted by voters in the areas affected and shall apply only to the municipality wherein enacted but must conform to the Constitution and laws of Alpaca. Municipal elections shall be conducted by the Precinct Registration Boards of Precincts wholly or partly within the municipality with only those voting who reside within the municipality at times designated by the municipal government. Only municipal elections held at the same time as national elections shall be conducted at the expense of Alpaca. A municipal occupancy tax at a fixed rate of ten (10) to forty (40) Pack shall be assessed on each citizen age eighteen (18) years or older residing within the municipality, a franchise tax assessed at a fixed rate of 0% to 2% of value of volume, and taxes assessed on the same sources of tax authorized but not fully used by Alpaca or schools subject to the limitations set out in the Constitution.

SECTION 13. The Senate shall enact proper legislation providing for the en-

enforcement of legal rights for wage-earning persons providing these rights from employers: disability pay for injuries; vacation with pay; to accept bonuses from employers when offered; to quit work upon notice to employer who shall honor such termination notices in order of length of service, but shall not be required to honor each day notices from more than 8% of his total staff employed at the time of receiving such notices, but all notices shall be honored within 14 days; to be paid the Wage and Hour Commission minimum wage and to accept for better workmanship or greater efficiency higher pay than the average wage for the same tasks; to recreational and entertainment facilities; to be afforded healthful working conditions; to freedom from abuse by word or deed; to be free from paying a fee to the employers or any other person or organization as a condition for securing and continuing a job. The Senate shall not enact any legislation attempting to endow a wage-earning person with a property right in employment; unemployment insurance; a right to adverse occupancy of his employer's property; or a guaranteed wage for a future period of time. The Government shall maintain employment placement offices for the free use and convenience of wage-earning persons and employers.

SECTION 14. The Government shall accredit and list all non-governmental hospitals in Alpacas and the Government shall, where needed, construct and equip hospitals, nurses' dormitories and related facilities which with existing hospitals are adequate for the hospitalization of ten per cent (10%) above the average number of sick, and shall for stipulated periods place each and any hospital and its facilities, free of charge, in the custody of either a medical association, some other charitable organization or a highly efficient private profit motive organization; requiring that such hospitals and facilities be maintained and utilized to properly serve the public.

SECTION 15. The Senate shall enact legislation providing for appropriate facilities for the care of orphans and adoption procedures and agencies for all orphans.

SECTION 16. The Government shall conduct its affairs to compete as little as possible with private industry, and shall keep at a minimum its land and real estate ownership used for national defense, parks, wild life refuges, flood control, reforestation, hospital sites, communication centers and similar ownerships absolutely essential to the function of Government, and shall be subject to suit to account to those suffering financial damage from the Government's failure to conform to these provisions.

SECTION 17. The Chairman of the Senate shall instruct the presiding officer to limit each Senator wishing to participate in the discussion of any subject before the Senate to a total of two hours, which he may use either in debate or in formal speeches.

SECTION 18. The Chairman of the Senate shall schedule action on each subject under consideration in such a way that voting shall be distributed throughout the session to prevent an accumulation of pending measures from being crowded into the closing days of a legislative session for final action, and a final vote on each measure shall be taken within ten (10) days after it is first brought to the Senate floor. A Senator may announce to the public by written word only his stand regarding any legislative measures before the Senate, but should he be found guilty of offering to pledge his support directly or indirectly to any person or any legislative measure he shall be suspended by the Legislative Investigating Committee.

SECTION 19. The Senate at the close of each session shall set a day for its next regular session and in case of emergency may be called into special session by the Chairman of the Senate or by the National Policy Committee.

SECTION 20. Bureaucracy in government makes for waste, inefficiency and a limitation of the freedom of the citizenry; therefore all agencies, bureaus, boards and commissions not specifically provided by the Constitution which may be established on an emergency basis in any branch of government shall be completely liquidated and terminated by the President within eighteen (18) months after having first been started and an annual review by an Agency Review Committee appointed by the National Policy Committee shall be made of all such entities of a permanent nature for the purpose of recommending (1) sustaining of such entity, (2) curtailment of activities, (3) reduction of personnel or (4) the complete liquidation and termination of such entity; and the findings of the Review Committee shall be promptly communicated to the President, the Chairman of the Senate and the head of the branch of government to which the entity is connected.

SECTION 21. All property, real or personal, acquired by either the husband or wife during marriage, except that which is the separate property of either, shall be deemed the community property of the husband and wife, and owned by them in equal shares. All property of a person, both real and personal, owned before marriage, and that acquired after marriage by gift, devise or descent, and the increase therefrom, shall be the separate property of that person. The Senate shall enact necessary legislation to effect and maintain such ownership.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The highest executive authority of the Nation shall be vested in a Triumvirate of three (3), each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates, one (1) member being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Chief of the Appointment Examining Board shall initially appoint one (1) of the Triumvirs to serve as President of the Triumvirate, one (1) to serve as First Assistant Triumvir and one (1) to serve as Second Assistant Triumvir, each for a one (1) year period, and

the Presidency shall thereafter rotate each year. The two Assistant Triumvirs shall serve with full-time duties of the Triumvirate. In the event of a vacancy in the Presidency, other than through rotation, the First Assistant Triumvir shall succeed to the Presidency and the Second Assistant Triumvir shall become the First Assistant Triumvir and the Vacancy Committee shall fill the resulting vacancy. The President of the Triumvirate must be joined by one (1) of the Assistant Triumvirs or by the Chief of the Appointment Examining Board in each act or decision. Should none of these three (3) confirm the proposal of the President, these three (3), acting unanimously, are empowered to act on the subject brought to their attention by the President or on any other imperative matters of state.

SECTION 2. Qualifications of appointive officials in the Executive Branch of the Government will be passed upon by an Appointment Examining Board of nine (9) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected by the highest College of Executive Delegates every four (4) years to serve a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for 4-year, three for 8-year and three for 12-year terms. The Appointment Examining Board shall organize the Board and at all times keep filled the office of Chief of the Appointment Examining Board. The findings of this Board shall be advisory, but the Board may reject any appointment made by an elected executive official. The Appointment Examining Board may establish Sub-Boards where needed, the membership of which shall be elected in the same manner as the Appointment Examining Board by the Executive Delegates authorized to fill the offices in the area in which the Sub-Board shall function; and the Sub-Board shall function under the rules prescribed for the parent Board.

SECTION 3. The President of the Executive Triumvirate may negotiate treaties with foreign powers within the framework of the Constitution, and a treaty shall become binding when ratified by the majority of a Treaty Committee composed of the Chairman of the Senate, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chief of the Appointment Examining Board of the executive department. The treaty shall become the law of the land only so far as the obligation of the Nation to carry out that particular treaty and shall not become a precedent in law.

SECTION 4. The highest College of executive delegates shall elect a Wage and Hour Commission consisting of three (3) members, each age thirty (30) years or older, one (1) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that the initial election shall be respectively for a 4-year, an 8-year and a 12-year term. The Wage and Hour Commission shall make a continuous study of the man hours of work needed in Alpacas and the work capacity in man hours of the people available to do the work. The purpose of the study shall be to smoothly accomplish the distribution of the volume of work needed to be done when demand for production is great within Alpacas and to prevent abnormal unemployment at all time. Semiannually, the Wage and Hour Commission shall report its findings as to the proper hours per week employment and one (1) month thereafter with the consent of a majority of the National Policy Committee, call for a prescribed number of hours as the work week and for a minimum wage for males and a minimum wage for females applying equally to all who work, with time and a half for overtime and holiday work and one and a half times the customary pay for overtime piece work. Wage earners shall not accept year, month, week, day, hour, or piece work for pay from anyone other than their regular employer if the work week is forty-four (44) hours or less, but may perform work for themselves.

SECTION 5. In the event citizens or members of the armed forces of Alpacas are forcibly and illegally detained in foreign countries, the Executive Triumvirate shall promptly enter into diplomatic negotiations to secure their immediate release. Should such diplomatic negotiations fail within thirty (30) days to secure the release and repatriation of any such persons being illegally detained, the National Policy Committee shall take whatever action is necessary to rescue and repatriate such persons.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the Nation shall be vested in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as the Supreme Court shall from time to time establish, each of which when established shall be abolished whenever there is insufficient docket to justify its continuance.

SECTION 2. A Supreme Court of nine (9) Justices each age forty (40) years or older shall be elected by the highest college of judicial delegates, three (3) Justices being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially three shall be elected for a 4-year, three for an 8-year and three for a 12-year term. The Supreme Court Justices shall choose one of their number to serve as Chief Justice for a two (2) year period, ineligible to further serve as Chief Justice until the lapse of one (1) year. The position of Chief Justice shall be kept filled at all times and should a vacancy occur the Court shall immediately convene, and the Justices shall re-organize the court. The Vacancy Committee shall then select a new member to bring the court up to the prescribed number of members. All members of the Supreme Court other than the original members must have previously served as judges in courts for a period of two (2) or more years.

SECTION 3. Judges of the lower national courts, each age thirty-six (36) years or older, elected for a two (2) year term by the judicial delegates representing their jurisdictional district, shall preside over all cases and trials within their jurisdiction, and two (2) commissioners to be associated with each judge shall be similarly elected. The judge and commissioners may render a unanimous verdict or a two-

to one verdict, and in either case their majority decision shall be the judgment of the court and if none agree, the judge alone shall render the verdict. All verdicts shall be subject to appeal.

SECTION 4. The Supreme Court shall from time to time establish labor courts to furnish wage earners and employers easy access to a labor judge of age twenty-six (26) or older, who shall be of equal stature to judges of lower national courts and elected by the same delegates electing the judges of the lower national courts. A nominal fee of 10 Pack shall be charged complainant, either employer or employee, for hearings. By appointment complainant with any witnesses he may wish to have heard may appear with or without counsel before the labor judge who, after questioning the complainant, and summoning any other parties who should be heard in the case, shall furnish complainant and defendants with a transcript of the hearing and the judge's verdict. The verdict rendered by the judge shall be subject to appeal by any party to the case to either a lower national court or to the same appellate courts to which verdicts of other lower national court judges are made, paying the usual costs of these courts.

SECTION 5. The Supreme Court shall from time to time establish such appellate courts with such appellate jurisdiction as the Supreme Court deems necessary. The highest College of judicial delegates representing each appellate district shall elect three (3) judges, each age thirty-two (32) or older for each appellate court, one (1) judge being elected every four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be elected for a 4-year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term.

SECTION 6. The Supreme Court shall not declare any act of the Senate unconstitutional with a finding of less than seven (7) affirmative votes nor nullify executive action with less than six (6) affirmative votes. The Supreme Court shall recognize that this Constitution can be amended only as provided in Article VI and shall only construe existing laws which have been enacted by the Senate and shall not attempt to expand the meaning of existing laws in a manner which would create legislation by judicial decree; but if they find uncertainty of the legislative intent in any law, it shall be proper for the Supreme Court to request the Senate for an enactment to clarify the legislation.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The Military shall be separate from but responsible in top policy matters to the three other branches of the national government. Three (3) officers each age thirty (30) years or older to head the Military shall be elected, one to be elected each four (4) years for a 12-year term, except that initially respectively one shall be selected for a 4-year, one for an 8-year and one for a 12-year term, by the highest College of Military Delegates. The National Policy Committee shall name one (1) of the three (3) as Commander in Chief, another as First Assistant and the other as Second Assistant to the Commander in Chief, and the position of Commander in Chief shall rotate each two (2) years and the First and Second Assistant shall at all times serve in the immediate staff of the Commander in Chief. However, the term of any of these officials may be terminated when, in the opinion of the National Policy Committee, the best interests of Alpaca justify the action. The Commander in Chief shall be responsible for the conduct of the armed forces, but as to top policy decisions shall be subordinate to a National Policy Committee composed of the President of the Triumvirate, who shall be Chairman of the National Policy Committee, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the Legislative Veto Board. The Commander in Chief shall report to the President his proposed actions, and a majority of the National Policy Committee may withhold the Committee's sanction and the Committee shall be empowered if acting unanimously to direct the Commander in Chief to carry out any policy they consider imperative. If a decision is not reached in either manner, the issue shall then be promptly decided by the Chairman of the Senate.

SECTION 2. The National Policy Committee and the Commander in Chief acting unanimously may engage the military forces in military action against any foreign power; and acting with the consent of the Chairman of the Senate may instruct the Commander in Chief to use the military forces in suppressing rebellion and policing internal local areas if the civil authorities apply to the Commander in Chief for help in situations beyond their control. Military forces shall not be used against any citizens of Alpaca except as above provided.

SECTION 3. The Commander in Chief shall appoint the highest officer of each division of the military service and the members of his immediate staff other than the two Assistant Chiefs. Personnel for the four (4) lowest posts or ranks in each division of the military service equivalent to Corporal, Sergeant, Lieutenant and Captain will be named by their superiors, and all other military officers intermediate between these high appointive stations and low appointive ranks provided above shall be elected by the appropriate college of military delegates for the position to be filled as defined by the Senate. Excepting the Commanders in Chief, the military officers shall not be limited in term of service while able to perform their duties or upon reaching a proper uniform retirement age to be set by the Senate. In making all appointments and promotions seniority shall be considered only as one factor of merit and all appointments shall be made by merit. Those occupying elective military positions are eligible for Retirement payments.

SECTION 4. Volunteers shall be accepted into the Armed Services when needed, and in emergencies Alpaca shall have the right to conscript personnel for military service who shall receive equitable pay, and the right to conscript property for military use, the owners of which shall receive just compensation. The success of

military action is dependent upon modern equipment and the personnel shall be kept at the minimum.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. Amendments to the Constitution may be submitted to the Delegate Electorate by a two-thirds (2/3ds) vote of the Senate or proposed by a majority of a Constitutional Convention of thirty-one (31) members elected by the Senate or by a unanimous vote of the National Policy Committee. Any amendment submitted by any of the three will become a part of the Constitution upon a two-thirds (2/3ds) vote of all delegates voting who have been elected in all branches of government in the Precincts. They shall be called upon to vote on the ratification of the amendment at the first general election or within two (2) years following its submission.

ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. The highest College of delegates in each branch of government shall elect an Investigating Committee consisting of nine (9) members each age thirty-two (32) or older, three (3) of whom shall be elected each four (4) years for a term. The duties of each of these committees shall be to investigate and hold hearings regarding the conduct of any position in such committee's branch of government. Hearings may be conducted by two (2) or more members of the committee and all information and evidence adduced at a hearing will be reported to the full committee for its action. Hearings may be open or closed. The committee by majority vote shall have the authority to call a new election at the next general election for any elected position and they may also temporarily suspend the occupant of any position. They may consider the health, habits, competency, efficiency, derelictions, temperament and integrity of the occupant who is the subject of their investigation, but in making an adverse finding they shall not publicize their reasons. An investigation by this committee shall not preclude criminal action from being taken against any person. Any investigating committee may establish a similar but inferior committee to function part or all time, if needed, to investigate minor position holders, which cases they are unable to properly investigate, but the final authority will rest in the highest investigating committee which shall be responsible for the subordinate investigating committees which it may establish.

SECTION 2. The penalty for acts of treason against the Government imposed in the Courts of Alpaca shall be imprisonment for three (3) or more years or a sentence of death.

SECTION 3. The Investigating Committee shall not deem any person being paid funds from the Government innocent until proven innocent, and shall discontinue persons from their Governmental activities upon an accusation of treasonable or illegal activities which the Investigating Committee considers substantial until such time as their innocence of such accusation has been adjudged.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. (a) The Government shall pay each citizen upon reaching the age of sixty-six (66) a monthly installment as a Seniority payment amounting to one-half (1/2) of the highest average monthly earnings attained by him for any three (3) consecutive years between the ages of fifty-one (51) and sixty (60). Such payments are to be limited to an amount equivalent to the value of 400 Pack. Seniority payments to a non-salaried and not self-employed married woman shall be in the amount of one-third (1/3d) of her husband's monthly earnings limited to 300 Pack. Each citizen not in need and preferring to waive the Seniority payments due him shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recognition of a high degree of patriotic spirit.

(b) Retirement payments will be made to all elective officials who have served to honorably terminate a full term or a vacancy term of eight (8) or more years, in the amount of two-thirds (2/3ds) of the monthly salary of the office. If more than one (1) office has been held the retirement payments shall be only for the office of highest pay. The payments shall be due without regard to the status of future employment or occupation, but no seniority payment shall be made to former officials receiving retirement payments. Any elective official, after reaching the age of sixty-five (65) years, may retire, drawing full pay for the remainder of the term to which he was elected and retirement pay thereafter. Each citizen preferring to waive retirement payments when eligible shall be granted two (2) additional votes in recognition of a high degree of patriotic spirit. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive payment of fifty per cent (50%) or more of his annual government salary shall be granted one (1) additional vote in recognition of his desire to lessen the cost of government. Each citizen occupying a salaried government position who prefers to waive a previous year's total per diem payments, if amounting to more than ten per cent (10%) of the average national salary for similar work shall be granted one (1) additional vote.

(c) Delegates to represent the electorate in a Precinct or College of delegates shall not be considered officials and their pay shall be considered per diem payments for time actually given to their work and not salaries. This is true of all clerical help in holding elections except the Registration Board and any other part-time and temporary helpers.

(d) Indigent and infirm citizens shall be paid by the Government a monthly sum sufficient only to cover their necessities. The Senate may provide for resident persons a payment during the time such persons are seriously sick, only so long as their sickness lasts.

SECTION 2. Persons offering themselves for office or willing to accept office shall renounce their membership and participation in any and all political parties or thought groups but may announce their opinion regarding policies and truthful and accurate records of their past training and achievements in written form only but shall not make any promises of any nature whatsoever to any person or group except to pledge to take the following oath of office: "I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION OF ALPACA, EFFICIENTLY DISCHARGE MY DUTIES AND PERFORM MY OFFICIAL ACTIONS TO ACCOMPLISH WHATEVER APPEARS TO ME TO BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALPACA WHEN THE TIME FOR DECISION OR ACTION ARRIVES."

SECTION 3. (a) The holders of offices and other governmental posts or positions shall not participate in any manner in the raising of funds from private sources for any institution or endeavor.

(b) Any citizen, elective or appointive, in any national, municipal, or school position shall not accept but shall return to the donor any individual gift in excess of a nominal value equivalent to 5 Pack, or any gifts from different persons comprising an aggregate value in excess of the equivalent to 100 Pack.

SECTION 4. (a) The Government of Alpaca declares that a continuing presentation of views and information and a constant debate between the two (2) worldwide opposing philosophies of government is a proper and wholesome governmental activity when carried out in a manner to avoid hysteria, prejudice and emotion in an attempt to formulate the best possible policies for orderly government. The printed word is subject to verification, review, analysis and evaluation and reaches the better reasoning power of those who read with understanding, therefore it provides the proper avenue for such debate. The two (2) thought groups of opposing philosophies may be best described as follows:

LIBERAL—Stressing privileges for the masses; progress unhampered by tradition, humanitarianism regardless of property rights, paternalistic government, social gains and associated and similar objectives.

CONSTRUCTIVE—Stressing inviolate property rights, individual initiative, the profit motive, free markets, protection against governmental monopoly and associated and similar objectives.

Principles should not be sacrificed in order to attain a middle-of-the-road policy but it may be from time to time the extreme views of either thought group may not provide as salutary or sound governmental policy as a policy tempered by and leaning toward the opposing philosophy. Therefore, Alpaca shall require printed news media published therein to make available free a minimum of two per cent (2%) of space for the use of the authorized writing staff for each of these thought groups. The two (2) authorized writing staffs shall be chosen and comprised as follows:

LIBERAL—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the liberal philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. Initially, the five shall be appointed for one, two, three, four, and five-year terms. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

CONSTRUCTIVE—The Chairman of the Senate shall appoint a committee of five (5) Senators to name the most able, ardent and persuasive advocates of the constructive philosophy. From those named by the committee, the Chairman of the Senate shall appoint directors, who hold no governmental positions and who are willing to serve in that capacity without salary from the government, five (5) in number, one (1) to be appointed each year to serve for five (5) years. The five (5) directors so chosen shall organize their staff and prepare or cause to be prepared the printed current presentation of their philosophy.

In addition to these officially sponsored opposing columns, freedom of the press, including all non-libelous statements regarding affairs and policy of government and its personnel is guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca. The right to petition the government or officials shall never be infringed upon.

(b) Discussions of governmental affairs and persons are confined to printed media, precluded from radio, TV and the cinema and shall not be voiced or pictured in public meetings attended by more than 500 persons. Within these limits freedom of speech regarding any matter or person pertaining to government is guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca. Pertaining to non-governmental affairs or persons, freedoms of speech, press, communications, presentation of wholesome entertainment in theater, by radio or television are guaranteed all citizens of Alpaca and the Senate shall enact legislation to implement the maintenance of these freedoms at all times by curtailing any monopoly of ownership, management or policy and curtailing the dissemination of false propaganda, either open or subtle, wherein one race or creed assails other races or creeds or one class assails another class; and curbing all unbalanced programs tending to undermine freedom and government.

(c) Worship shall be encouraged in Alpaca but Alpaca shall never have any government-supported religion, nor shall the Senate make any law regarding the

establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall any religious test or qualification be a prerequisite to holding elective or appointive position; nor shall any Bill of Attainder or Ex Post Facto law be enacted.

(d) No person shall be held to answer for a crime unless served with a formal court summons nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. A person in the military service of Alpaca shall be tried only in the military or civil courts of Alpaca, and Alpaca shall never consent to the trial of a member of its armed forces in the military or civil courts of any foreign land.

(e) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy, public and impartial trial in the district where the crime was committed and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with witnesses against him; to have compulsory service for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to be entitled to bail except in capital offenses and to have the assistance of Counsel for his defense; and not to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

(f) The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures in their persons, houses, papers and effects shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

SECTION 5. All bodies and committees shall perfect their own organization in the most practical manner except wherein otherwise provided.

SECTION 6. A branch in high schools and colleges, not to exceed 3% of the National attendance any school year, may be maintained at government expense to provide training for governmental service, but the graduates from this branch in high schools and colleges shall have no higher preference or tenure over non-graduates for governmental jobs as the letting of such jobs shall be based on merit.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. Each citizen shall be endowed with a voting power based on his age, experience, active interest and investment in government, and tax paid to the nation during his previous tax year, as he may prove to the Registration Board of his Precinct of residence, with the voting power assigned to each citizen to be graduated and cumulatively determined as follows, provided that the maximum voting power for any one citizen shall not exceed five (5) votes.

	Votes
Each citizen age 18 years or older	2
Additional votes awarded to citizens qualifying:	
a. If one of highest 25% of direct National taxpayers	1
b. If one of highest 50% of direct National taxpayers	1
c. A bonus vote for scholastic achievement, if in the highest ranking 25%, whether in grade school, high school or college graduating class based on the full year of attendance, but only for the next 8 years following the last scholastic achievement	1
d. For waiving payments from Government:	2
(1) Retirement or Seniority payments	1
(2) 50% or more of government salary	1
(3) Previous year's total per diem payments if amounting to more than 10% of the average national salary for similar services or work	1
e. If Poll Tax voluntarily paid equal to 1/2 of 1% of the average annual national salary	1

(Note: All averages arrived at on the basis of the previous year.)

The voting power of a direct national taxpayer, at his request, shall be increased by crediting him with the pro rata part attributable to his ownership of taxes paid by any company or enterprise in which he owns stock or an interest. The citizen, who must have resided in the Precinct three (3) or more months to qualify to vote, may register each year and may make his proof of any additional votes based on his last fiscal tax year with the Registration Board within ten (10) days to one (1) year prior to each election in which he seeks to vote. A citizen residing in the Precinct for more than two (2) years shall be subject to a penalty to be prescribed by the Senate for failure to register with the Precinct Registration Board. The tax record of each voter shall be held confidential. A wife (primary, if plural) shall exercise equal voting power with her husband.

COMMENT: Where the Constitution may prove inadequate it does not require circumvention, for it provides that it can be amended with definite provisions free from ambiguity and, should the urgency be great, the amendments can be made promptly while Alpacans, without hardship, remain law-abiding citizens. A written Constitution is both better than and a safeguard against any dictatorship, even a benign one.

Please translate and distribute in any language you choose up to April 1, 1967.

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1401 Elm Street
Dallas 2, Texas

66-108867-10

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

C
O
P
Y

March 26, 1969

Dear Sir:

I must make comments and corrections on New York (Sp.) March 24. Some critics who disapprove my opposition to communism claim that my income is \$1 million weekly, to which I once said, "I would starve." The reason for this blithe answer was our family spends 13 times that sum in keeping our food, oil, ranching, real estate and other activities going concerns. I was attributed with saying the "last first rate President this country had was Calvin Coolidge." I have never said he was the greatest President but often said the Coolidge Administration was the last successful one because during his 5½ years there was no subversive buildup whatsoever, no disastrous panic, and he reduced the small national debt of \$23 billion by 23%. He proved Thomas Jefferson's wise statement, "He who governs least governs best." I doubt I compared Getty's fortune and mine, but humorously quoted Bob Hope as announcing, "Hunt sends CARE packages to Getty."

During the TV broadcast "60 MINUTES", scheduled for April 1, I joined with the highly talented ladies of the First Baptist Church who hold a "fun fest" on husbands' birthdays. Preparing these happy occasions some will write lyrics, some write music for the mirthful lyrics, and when their top stars are singing hymnal solos somewhere else in the world, the voices still ring like grand opera when other stars carry the lead.

My previous TV appearance emanated from Round Table, Flagler Museum, in Palm Beach where Jeanne Dixon and I were questioned by four. One questioner was a lady who chose to ask most of the questions and was roundly booed by the live audience of a thousand each time she started a question. This was disconcerting to me when I wondered if the booing was for my expected answer.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLH:ww

REC-10

MAR 28 1969

Deleted from sent Philip J. Henshaw
by 2/11/75
Per FOIA request

No AAK-
found
(b)(6)

APR 08 1969

Monday, March 24, 1969

Hunt Set As Profile Over CBS

NEW YORK (Sp.) — H. L. Hunt, a man so rich he says he'd "starve to death" if his income were only \$1,000,000 a week, will talk about his fortune, the qualities that help a man make money, death, taxes and politics in a profile of the multibillionaire to be broadcast on "60 MINUTES," Tuesday April 1 on CBS-TV.

Hunt was filmed in his office, at his country ranch, visiting one of his oil wells, and at home in Dallas, Texas, where CBS News Correspondent Mike Wallace interviewed him.

On "60 MINUTES," he will also be seen raising the flag in the morning on the grounds of his home, which is a replica of George Washington's home in Mount Vernon, attending a surprise party to celebrate his 80th birthday, and singing "Just Us Folks" at home with his wife.

Hunt will also talk about women and philanthropy and tell why he feels the last first-rate President this country had was Calvin Coolidge.

Hunt claims he doesn't know exactly what he is worth, but agreed during the interview with J. Paul Getty's assertion that he is now richer than Getty, usually regarded as the richest man in the world.

Friday, February 9, 1968

IT HAPPENED LAST NIGHT

By EARL WILSON

Bob Hope, here for the Madison Square Garden opening Sunday, had Texas multimillionaire H. L. Hunt on the phone and said, "Hey, how about a little donation for the USO? Hunt gave him \$25,000 from HLH Products. "Is it true," Hope asked him. "that you send CARE packages to Paul Getty?..."

The Bob Hope USO special variety show will be carried on NBC-TV Monday, February 12, 8:00 p.m. C.S.M.: 9:00 p.m. E.S.T.

The Dallas Morning News
March 26, 1969

It's Too Late!

To The Dallas News:
Mrs. John Puckette asked in her letter of March 14, "Will America continue to ignore the communist threat until it is too late?" It is too late now!

Communist propaganda has subverted so many minds that today anticommunists who genuinely oppose it with all its corruption, deceit, debauchery and slavery are more despised than the Communists. With the blood of innocent victims of its treachery dripping from its hands, it stands at the threshold of triumph in the world.
A. R. GILLENTE.

Dallas.

Above - Why a patriot is criticized.

1969 palm beach round table

37th
YEAR

JEANE
DIXON & H.L.
HUNT

at the
Henry Morrison Flagler Museum

TODAY'S
PROGRAM

MONDAY, MARCH 10

Jeane Dixon is often described as the modern era's Cassandra, the prophetess of 3,000 years ago whose warning of the fall of Troy was ignored by the Trojans.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION-N.Y.

Gentlemen:

The greatest thing that ever happened to H. L. Hunt was the supercilious ass who interviewed him in the most infuriating high-handed manner I have ever seen. The "compleat jerque!"

R. E. Bydalek
Carson City, Nevada

+++

June 3, 1968

Mr. H. L. Hunt who lives in Dallas, Texas, is for many reasons one of the distinguished and extraordinary men of the United States and of the world.

See and hear Mike Wallace at his best April 1. The name of the show is "60 MINUTES", presented on national CBS-TV.

Feel free to reproduce. HLH

62-108867-11

Organize TEAMS OF TWO up to

We who oppose communism should encourage others who oppose communism. Non-communists are told, "You can't afford to show any 'love of country'; if you do, it will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers." Tell your stores these three falsities is the enemy talking. One patriot can organize a TEAM, elect a Chairman and pledge members to deliver 20 minutes each week to make freedom society workable. One member shall spend 20 minutes on Monday, another on Tuesday, and others of the TEAM each choose one of the 4 succeeding weekdays, commencing TV and radio stations and their advertisers for airing freedom programs. Each should phone 5 or more acquaintances suggesting that they avail themselves of the goods and services which the advertisers offer.

The Chairman shall contact Chairmen of other TEAMS. TEAMS OF SIX, although small, are organized crusades. Each TEAM OF SIX is a crusade of 2 hours per week, and a thousand TEAMS, 2,000 hours per week, which could decide an issue in a medium size city or a few small communities. 10,000 TEAMS could swing a large metropolis to the "truth-side".

In organizing, members of one TEAM may form or join other TEAMS, limiting their membership to six TEAMS. The primary goals of different TEAMS may differ. Each will be motivated by honorable intent to promote freedom. The Chairman may request each TEAM member to appoint an alternate, who may be a spouse. Each TEAM should decide the most worthy causes to keep the TEAM from scattering efforts among minor goals. The dedicated enemy, needing little regimentation, keep organized.

Feel free to reproduce and pass on, or insert in mail.

Organize TEAMS OF TWO up to SIX

We who oppose communism should encourage others who oppose communism. Non-communists are told, "You can't afford to show any 'love of country'; if you do, it will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers". This may be only the enemy talking in delivering these three charges. One patriot can organize a TEAM, elect a Chairman and pledge members to deliver 20 minutes each week to make freedom society workable. One member shall spend 20 minutes on Monday, another on Tuesday and others of the TEAM may each choose one of the 4 succeeding weekdays, urging the formation of Youth Freedom Speaker chapters. A Chapter shall consist of 21 adult counselors who like to keep young by working with youth. The duties of the counselors are to encourage youths to prepare themselves to deliver 3-minute extemporaneous speeches in the cause of freedom and secure invitations for the youths to speak to Rotarian and other service clubs, patriotic meetings and church gatherings. Write Nat'l. Hqs., YOUTH FREEDOM SPEAKERS, 1401 Elm St., Dallas, Tex. 75202

The Chairman shall contact Chairmen of other TEAMS. TEAMS OF SIX, although small, are organized crusades. Each TEAM OF SIX is a crusade of 2 hours per week, and a thousand TEAMS, 2,000 hours per week, which could decide an issue in a medium-size city or a few small communities. 10,000 TEAMS could swing a large metropolis to the "truth-side".

A member of one TEAM may form or join other TEAMS. The Chairman may request each TEAM member to appoint an alternate, who may be a spouse.

Feel free to reproduce and pass on, or insert in mail.

Hear LIFE LINE Many Times A Day

Nashville	1510 WLAC	2:45 a	*Denotes 50,000 Watt Clear Channel Station. #100,000 Watt Station.
*Nashville	650 WSM	4:45 a	
LaGrange	1300 WTAQ	7:15 a	
Geneseo	1500 WGEN	8:00 a	
Corpus Christi	1030 KCTA	8:30 a	
Chicago	1330 WEAW	9:50 a	
Champaign	94.5 WLSW	10:00 a	
Murphysboro	1420 WINI	11:15 a	
Dixon	1460 WIXN	11:35 a	
Peoria	1020 WPEO	11:45 a	
LaGrange	1300 WTAQ	12:15 p	

CHICAGO AREA - C.S.T.

Paris	1440 WPRS	12:15 p	Feel free to reproduce.
Chicago	1330 WEAW	12:45 p	
LaPorte	1540 WLOI	12:45 p	
Corpus Christi	1030 KCTA	4:45 p	
Aurora	1580 WKKD	5:15 p	
Nashville	1510 WLAC	6:35 p	
Beloit	1380 WBEL	7:30 p	
#Monterrey	1050 XEG	7:45 p	
LaGrange	1300 WTAQ	10:00 p	
#Monterrey	1050 XEG	11:00 p	
*New Orleans	870 WWL	11:15 p	

Patriots should notify five others per day a morning time, noon time, afternoon time and night time which they can expect to tune in for a LIFE LINE broadcast at their greatest convenience. Different stations do present different programs on many weekdays.

Prepare a schedule for any freedom messages of any broadcaster of TV or radio similar to the LIFE LINE schedule above.

REFAL PRASE IF DISSEMINATED

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

STATE 418


URGENT 7-1-69

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT LONDON NO. 92

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-28-84 BY g-1/10/1982

249643

 J. PAUL GETTY, H. L. HUNT, VICTIMS, EXTORTION

62-108867

~~100-193315~~

~~100-193315~~

NOT RECORDED

140700 JUL 1969

RECEIVED 1:43 PM BKR

*tel to 26 June
7-1-69*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 63-12901-7

July 1, 1969

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - [REDACTED]

62-108867
TO SAC, ST. LOUIS (62-3) ~~100-193315~~
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI ~~100-193313~~

[REDACTED] MISCELLANEOUS

INFORMATION CONCERNING.

RECNEL JUNE SIX LAST.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ST. LOUIS BY RETURN AIRTEL, [REDACTED] SUBJECT LHM SUITABLE
FOR DISSEMINATION TO LEGAT LONDON CONTAINING A COMPARE
PAGE OF THIS CASE, INCLUDING BACKGROUND OF SUBJECT. ENDEAVOR
TO SECURE PHOTOGRAPH OF SUBJECT.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI

JUL 1 1969

73

TELETYPE

(3)
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-28-84 BY 91/Bjafp

249643

AUG 3 1979

AUG 25 1969

AUG 20 1969

AUG 13 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 63-13920-2

62-108867-12

CHANGED TO

63-13920-9


AUG 20 69

(b)(6)

gn

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

October 3, 1970

V

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In early 1967 I became concerned at apparent efforts to do away with our Constitutionally provided means of election of President and Vice President through the Electoral College and on April 20, 1967, journeyed to Washington where I remained for 35 days working diligently against Senator Bayh's proposed plan for a direct vote.

On Monday, September 14, 1970, I phoned some members of the U. S. Senate and others in their states and decided their activities in behalf of the enactment of the Congressional District Plan were insufficient. I began mailing material to members of the State Legislatures and other key people regarding this situation that day and in 4 days had reached 7,644 State Legislators as well as the Governors of many of the states. This effort probably changed the thinking of many members of Congress and resulted in the defeat of legislation implementing the Bayh Direct Vote Plan on September 29, 1970.

The United States should not attempt to finance any attempts to dominate the selection of a successor to Nasser, but the most constructive people of the United States should choose and encourage an Arab leader who would and could maintain peaceful relations between the Jews and Arabs.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

EX-110

REC 37

H. L. Hunt

42-108867-13

OCT 12 1970

HLH/ma
Encl.

5 - ~~ENCLOSURE~~
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

P. PROC
OCT 6 1970
OCT 19 1970

Deleted Copy Sent
by letter
Per FOIA Request

Philip J. Hirsch

7/11/75

(b)(6)

Woot

DO NOT DETACH

No acknowledgment felt necessary. 4
controversial Texas oil millionaire. Hunt is the
right-wing activity such as "Facts Forum" and others.
Hunt wrote us on 2/27/68, furnishing material and
Director instructed "No answer." and others.
File 62-108867

(b)(6)

THE PLAIN DEALER, SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1967

Jeane Dixon Sees and Tells

By Frances Spatz Leighton

WASHINGTON—"We are going to have bigger wars than Vietnam."

"Riots in our cities will kindle bigger bonfires to come."

"In Algeria a Communist missile base is being built, comparable to the ones that were established in Cuba."

Privately owned American industry will continue to face serious losses all over the world."

"There is a young and pretty woman, living in the United States, born in Russia, who knows the identity of President Kennedy's assassins. She has held in her hands both Oswald's rifle and another rifle used in the assassination. I do not feel the bullet that struck Governor Connally also passed through the body of the President. I feel it came from another gun, and this woman knows whose."

RIGHT NOW, the amazing seeress sees much more than she dares tell about the mystery woman who played a major role in the assassination of President Kennedy. "It's a matter of national security but it will eventually have to come out and Russia will be implicated," she said emphatically.

It was Jeane's correct prediction that Kennedy would meet a tragic end on a trip away from the White House that first brought her to national prominence and that caused a book on her life, "A Gift of Prophecy," to reach the best seller list three weeks after publication. It has now sold over two million copies.

"Ronald Reagan is America's Man of Destiny. The country's future rests in his hands."

"The Vietnam war will get worse, and many more young men are destined to die."

Section E

These are some of the mid-year predictions of America's most publicized seeress, Jeane Dixon, whose crystal ball, she feels, gives her a clear picture of things to come, based on a sort of global mind-reading ability.

Seated in her Washington, D.C., town house, Jeane spread her hands over the crystal ball and said, "Most people don't understand the function of this crystal ball. When I sit here I know what people are thinking through mental telepathy. Sometimes my predictions don't come true because people change their minds and I see that, too."

July 14, 1967

TO FRIENDS REGARDING GIFT OF PROPHECY AND JEANE DIXON - After making Jeane Dixon's acquaintance I decided that to say her prophecies are amazingly accurate would be an understatement of the year.

I went with her to Ft. Myers, Va., where she spoke to 380 ladies. I hoped she would talk about the Congressional District Plan, inasmuch as she was assisting me in trying to get Congress to send a Constitutional Amendment to the State Legislatures embracing the Plan. When she began speaking she mentioned horses in Baltimore and I wondered why she was not, instead, advocating Reform of the Electoral College.

I found the reason when soon she said, "If you are wondering about the winner of the Kentucky Derby next Saturday, it will be Post Position 7, Proud Clarion." The Post Positions had not been decided and with 14 in the race, it was 13 to 1 that Proud Clarion would not be No. 7. When Saturday came, I watched the Derby on TV and found that Proud Clarion was Post Position No. 7 and won, paying \$62.20 for \$2.00. The 30 to 1 odds multiplied by 13 to 1 made the odds against the completion of the entire prophecy 390 to 1.

In GIFT OF PROPHECY, some of Jeane Dixon's prophecies came true even against odds of 1400 and more to 1.

Friends working with me for the Electoral College Reform complained, "Why didn't you give me Jeane Dixon's horse for the Derby? I would have bet \$2.00."

Jeane Dixon is not a gambler and is a lovely lady devoted to religious charities. I doubt if she made a \$2.00 bet.

In the speech at Ft. Myers she made prophecies of vastly greater consequence than the Derby winner, which she will no doubt publish in a book she is now writing.

I do not believe Jeane Dixon was speaking of Marina Oswald in the paragraph check-marked to the left of this sheet.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt.



An ear for business. Jeane and her husband (left) listen to multimillionaire H. L. Hunt discuss real estate.



LON EVANS

SHERIFF

CRIMINAL COURTS BUILDING
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76102

December 9, 1967

TO: LIFE LINE, Dallas, Texas

After accepting the appointment of jail chaplain, I immediately instituted several programs to rehabilitate the more than 16,000 prisoners who annually go through this jail. During one of my sessions with the small group of prisoners, I noticed that a paperback book, HLH COLUMNS, was a favorite of the prisoners. I checked with other officials at the jail and the prison psychologist and we discussed the usefulness of the book, HLH COLUMNS, because of the effect it was having on the inmates.

Each page was an article on a different subject and they were brief and concise. The criminal mind may become bored and fail to retain information from long drawn-out articles and books. It was manifestly apparent to each reader that the book was not lecturing to him. Some articles caused the prisoners to become nervous and lose interest. In working as part of the helping process for trouble-problemated people, I find it is necessary to challenge them to true citizenship, in the highest sense of the word. It seemed to me that these brief, concise, articles would be helpful. One man, on appeal, from a death sentence for rape and armed robbery, told me, "Here is one guy who ain't a phony." This was high praise and the strongest recommendation I could find. I wanted material that would speak to the needs of my friends, the prisoners.

So, I inquired at the Sheriff's office and found where more of the paperback, HLH COLUMNS, could be obtained. I secured about 1,000 of these books and have never used anything which had as salutary influence on a group of prisoners. There are about 500 prisoners at any one time, with 15,553 adults and 2,011 juveniles in our facilities last year. We used these books constantly. We find that they have been one of the most effective tools we have ever used. Prisoners have told me of their transformation in the various thought and reflection while reading some of the articles appearing in HLH COLUMNS. These books are changing the outlook on life of many of these prisoners and will do a great deal toward rehabilitating and making them useful citizens.

I feel that LIFE LINE is doing a great service to humanity in distributing HLH COLUMNS. My experience in this work is extensive. I did my initial training in Chaplaincy at Alcatraz. As past president of the National Society of Prison Chaplains, I feel that I should share this wonderful discovery of the usefulness of HLH COLUMNS with my colleagues around the country.

In closing, I cannot refrain from telling you about the miracles that have been wrought. In many instances, a prisoner has been completely changed and surely will be a far better person when he rejoins society. Only his fingerprint remains the same.

Earl-Clayton Grandstaff
EARL-CLAYTON GRANDSTAFF, D.D.

Director of the Chaplaincy Services

Order books from LIFE LINE, 4330 North Central Expressway, Dallas, Texas 75206
or H. L. Hunt, Dallas, Texas 75202

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO REPRODUCE THIS PAGE.

BOOKS BY H. L. HUNT:

	Each
ALPACA REVISITED. A Constitution. Soft-cover, 224 pages	\$1.00
WEEKLY STRENGTH. The first book of weekly columns; 224 pages75
RIGHT OF AVERAGE. Some of Hunt's popular daily columns; 224 pages75
HLH COLUMNS. 185 newspaper columns including all installments of "Constructive"75
WHY NOT SPEAK? "The Who, What, When, Where and Why of Public Speaking"; 192 pages75
FABIANS FIGHT FREEDOM. "How to Combat the Communist Conspiracy"; 192 pages75
HUNT FOR TRUTH. Timely and provocative daily columns; 256 pages95
OLD LETTERS TO THE EDITOR from H. L. Hunt. Letters published from 1960 to 1968; 192 pgs75
CONSTRUCTIVELY, H. L. HUNT. The latest of Hunt's daily columns; 189 pages75
JUNIE BENELL'S FAVORITE RECIPES (Published by HLH Products)	

The books, HUNT FOR TRUTH, RIGHT OF AVERAGE, and WEEKLY STRENGTH are the same format and nature of content as HLH COLUMNS and may be equally prized by prisoners.

62-108867-13

THE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

Some believe this is "our gravest hour." LIFE LINE and its many friends will attempt to meet this challenge. We think of lessening the crime wave, developing a more constructive foreign policy, saving our national economy, maintaining the U.S. Constitution with its Bill of Rights, constructively moving forward and enjoying all worthwhile activities which are most needed in maintaining and improving our grand and glorious Republic.

LIFE LINE is making a special offer of mailing 50 Select Freedom Talks, each comprising about 1900 words in speech-making form whereby every speaker or thinker can deliver his freedom messages in the best oratorical form. LIFE LINE listeners may seek to build and improve without detracting from the thinking of all freedom fans without impairing any other message intended and delivered with joy in the glorious cause of freedom.

The Select Freedom Talks will be chosen for their constructive qualities and timeliness. LIFE LINE has always solicited volunteer transcripts and will be glad to receive one or more from you.

The time is right, our cause is right, and everyone must do whatever they now can best do in the cause of freedom. Write LIFE LINE, Dallas, Tex. 75206, enclosing \$1.00 cash or check and you will soon receive 50 separate Select Freedom Talks for your use or distribution among others wherever they will do the most good. Please specify at the close of your letter "for Select Freedom Talks." HLH

HOW TO BECOME WELL-INFORMED ABOUT THE VIRTUES OF REPUBLIC U.S.A. AND WHO ARE ITS ENEMIES

The eleven books listed on the reverse side will provide the Freedom enthusiast and Truth-side advocate with an economical personal library packed with information essential to standing up for Republic U.S.A. The books are easy to read and understand; they deal with subjects of life and death importance to every concerned citizen of our great land.

The authors of these books are seasoned observers of U.S. history and the world scene. They are well known public figures whose knowledge and opinions are widely sought after, especially during times of crisis. There are no more effective advocates of the personal enterprise, individual initiative, profit-motive system which has made our Republic the envy of the world, providing our people with more freedom, more opportunity, more luxury and eliminated more suffering than early Utopians even dreamed possible.

Republic USA and this system deserve our utmost to preserve and protect the opportunities and the challenges which they make possible. Our descendants deserve at least the same amount of freedom and opportunity which the Founders passed on to us. All these books carry provisions invaluable to the legislator who must consider amending or rewriting State Constitutions during the coming years; Texas is one of these states. HLH

THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE A WAGE WHICH IS AT LEAST A MINIMUM WAGE for the class of work performed deals with an adjustable factor which could be and will be frequently subject to adjustment. A person without any particular strength and skill, or a novice, should be entitled to work at work which he chooses and can qualify to perform, and needs protection against being assigned him, because of the limitations of his ability, a lower wage than will afford him a good standard of living. Certain work in certain industries should command a fair base minimum price arrived at by what the efficient employer could pay for such work and make a reasonable profit. If the price of the product was not sufficient to enable the employer to pay this minimum wage which would afford the wage earner a fair living condition, the production would naturally be curtailed until the product commanded a higher price. If the product brought a fair price and the employer was not efficient enough to make a profit while paying a fair minimum wage, the employer would naturally be forced out of business. However, a fair wage in one locality, might be a little different from a fair wage in another locality on account of the difference in the cost of living and the difference in transportation costs of the employer's raw material or finished product compared with his competitor's. This determination of a fair minimum price for labor should be worked out in court by the employer and employee if there was disagreement, each making his proper showing, represented by an advocate or counsel whose services would be free to him. The Wage and Hour Commission set up to study and make recommendations of a fair minimum wage for all work in all localities would contribute its findings, with a complete transcript of the methods employed in arriving at the recommendations it would make in the case, with its offer of proof of the correctness of its findings for the Court's consideration in connection with the arguments advanced by the litigants.

The recommendations of the Commission should never be masqueraded as a directive with force of law.

AN EMPLOYEE who can do more and better work than a poor employee who must depend on minimum wage protection is entitled to higher wages. If he can do more, he is worth more. This principle is America, for upon the working of this principle America was built. The pioneer who could clear more land than his neighbor had more land to put into crops. If he could and would plow, cultivate and hoe more crops than his neighbor, he had better crops. He had more to show for his having done more and better work. He created a better standard of living for himself, and never was dragged down to a lower standard for himself through artificial limitations which were imposed to keep him from making a better showing than the less diligent pioneer. These same precepts extended among the artisans and to the early factory operations and still prevail, to a large extent, among the owners and operators of businesses. They still prevail among professional men. A greater reward for more and better work performed is so natural and so proper that it is difficult to set aside, and the motives for setting it aside must be questioned. To object to "speed-ups" must be vicious, unless such "speed-ups" result in breaking down the health of employees.

Piece work, where practicable and wherever it is still countenanced, lends itself to giving the greater reward for the better effort. In all work where piece work cannot be employed, any employee should have the right to assemble proof as to the extent of the superiority of his workmanship over the minimum wage employee average, and require a greater pay in the proportion that this superiority exists. He should have the right to require of his employer this greater pay and if the employer questions the existence of this superiority, he should have the right to have the merits of his claim adjusted in court in an orderly fashion and at no expense or great inconvenience. This would lead to bickering and might be objected to on the grounds that it would lead to constant turmoil, such turmoil that this principle could not be followed or employed. At present there is constant turmoil in

labor relations, with no cure in sight.

There have recently been instances of two or three thousand employees walking out on their jobs two or three times within a seven-day period, resulting in the interruption of work on the part of twenty or thirty thousand other employees, because efficient production from the larger number was linked in with, and dependent upon, the output of the smaller number. The reasons for these walkouts were varied, and appeared to be of such trivial nature as to constitute the utmost degree of bickering. The recurrence of the walkouts is proof no satisfactory and enduring solutions were reached, so no solutions were arrived at as would be the case if the dissatisfied employees were exercising legal rights and the merits of their complaints adjudged in court.

As a result of court procedure, a line of decisions would soon be reached. After several court decisions, the average employee might well judge himself as to the merits of his claims. If he was in doubt he might avail himself of the advice of fellow workers or officers and regular counsel of any Union or similar organization of which he was a member. If he went to his employer with complaints, the employer, if of broad gauge and with a good record for fairness and integrity, might be able to satisfy him if he could not meet the claims of the employee. If the employee, still dissatisfied, went to the experienced attorney whose duty it was to represent him and the attorney found there was no merit in his claim under the law and the prevailing court decisions, the attorney might be able to give him a true perspective which would satisfy him, and if he was not satisfied the matter could be passed on in court. The amount and extent of bickering which would take place is not predictable in advance. It could hardly be more extensive and disturbing than what is now taking place.

Every citizen has thousands of legal rights but is seldom found in court of his own volition. Even the poorly educated or illiterate persons have a very good working knowledge of their rights and generally know what they can legally do, and also know when a violation against their legal rights occurs. The holder of a deed to a forty-acre farm seldom engages in bickering as to his ownership of the farm and is seldom found in court haggling about it. If several occupants of small tracts attempted to exercise their claims of ownership to their land without a deed giving them legal ownership and found that it was necessary to organize an association to maintain and protect their ownership by force and acts which they would jointly commit to repel intruders and claim jumpers, even though they were quite successful their lives would be filled with struggle and strife. The same would be true of the occupants of an apartment house, if they did not have a legal lease or rental contract. The same would be true in every walk of life other than working for wages, if the individual was without legal rights. It would be true of the wage earner in all of his activities outside of his work on the job, if he were not proceeding in these activities along lines clearly laid down by law. The question of the advisability of providing employees with clearly defined legal rights in their jobs cannot be lightly dismissed on the grounds that it would lead to disturbance and dissension, and if it proved to be objectionable and unworkable from that standpoint the law could be repealed and we then would have what we now have — if what we now have could possibly be considered better. The passage of the law and its trial would at least have served the purpose of helping the public to think more accurately about this unsolved problem. The need for more accurate thinking is strikingly evidenced by the present conception that a labor dispute is sufficient grounds for inflicting bodily punishment on any person who is insistent in his desire to work, by others who do not want the work done. The seizure of property belonging to others, where work would be done; the use of force interfering with the ingress to property belonging to others, where work would be performed; the stopping of the United States mails going into such property; and the conception that a labor dispute automatically legalizes nearly any illegal action so long as the action is performed by those who desire the work to not be done, has the passive ac-

quiescence or the sanction of the representatives of the Government, whose duty is to enforce the laws. This has occurred time and time again, when men are dying on the battlefields on account of the want and need of articles which they would have had, had not these work stoppages occurred.

AN EMPLOYEE shall have the legal right that he shall be accorded proper consideration and courtesy from any foreman, boss or other superior over him. In many cases the employee is subjected to abusive language from a superior, and being assigned to more than his share of the tasks of a nature disliked by his fellow workers. In other cases workmen are humiliated by being shown up, and statements of a derogatory nature being addressed to them so frequently as to constitute a persecution which results in making their position untenable, and actually forcing them to quit their job. There are dozens of variations in this matter of getting the worst of the deal which anyone who has ever worked on a job where considerable numbers were employed can remember or visualize. This can happen to the best of workmen, and be a situation which arises from jealousy on the part of the superior because the workman is showing more aptitude, ability, modesty or refinement than the superior possesses. Any employee who is being subjected to these discourtesies should have the right to complain to his employer, and, if no relief is afforded him such as being transferred in his work so that he will not be under the supervision of the superior complained of, or secure the removal of the superior, he may go into Court and offer his complaint, and, upon proof of the abuse and the justice of his being relieved of it, the relief should be granted.

THE EMPLOYEE shall be entitled to receive from the employer, upon the employer terminating his employment without blame, fifteen days' additional pay if he has worked a period of six months to one year; after he has worked one year or more he shall be entitled to receive an additional pay which shall equal one month's salary for each year worked, up to a maximum of ten months' salary. This would be, in effect, a cumulative bonus the liability of which the employer would be able to reckon at all times. It would be a fund which the employee could always depend upon to tide him over during the interim between leaving his old job and establishing himself in a new one.

This would be a very heavy burden on the employer, but it would afford the opportunity of dispensing with the services of an employee without any bitterness or dissatisfaction on his part or any of the other employees, and it should entirely remove a cause which results in thousands of strikes and slow-downs which have occurred.

Sometimes employees who have been long on the job develop a complex, and even though they are doing their work well they become quite an obstructing factor and do more harm than the work they perform can possibly do good toward contributing to the output of production, although they refrain from any overt act which can be proven in a charge of fault or blame. This procedure would furnish a satisfactory way out for both employee and employer whenever the frailties of human nature have caused or permitted this unfortunate situation to come about. It would seem that a man who was good enough to keep for several years must be good enough, if afforded proper treatment, to keep so long as he desired to work, but this is not always true.

The employee shall be entitled to a recital of the cause of his discharge if he is discharged for fault and without the tender of the additional pay. Should he refute the charges made, he is entitled to take the case into Court and make his claim for whatever additional payment he was entitled to should he have been discharged without blame.

THE EMPLOYEE shall be entitled to receive half pay, based on his usual rate of pay, for time off on account of sickness, up to, but not exceeding, two years of such pay. He may be required by the employer to furnish employer a certificate of a competent doctor, stating the nature of his sickness and the fact that he is

unable to carry on his work.

Any employee on any job could require of his employer that the employer carry insurance with an accredited insurance company, without expense to employee, covering the liability of employee becoming sick, in case the employee would for any reason prefer being covered by an insurance company rather than the employer. The employer would also have the right to get the insurance from an insurance company if the employee did not make such a request.

This would fill a highly important actual, as well as psychological, need of most employees. Human nature consists largely of desires and fears. One of the most prominent of the latter that exists in the minds of most people is the fear of circumstances that prohibit them from working. This fear may be real and conscious, or it may be only in the subconscious mind of the individual, but in either case it is not compatible with the highest degree of efficiency and satisfaction in one's job. The right to this sickness insurance, without any deduction from the pay check, would be one step toward heading off the constantly increasing deductions from the employee's pay check, and it would partially pay for itself in saving in accounting.

THE EMPLOYEE SHALL NOT BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST in any manner whatsoever by employer, or any other person whose action was instigated in any manner by employer, as a result of employee making any proper request of employer.

The Courts would surely be diligent in enforcing this law, as lack of enforcement would practically nullify many of the employee's legal rights.

THE EMPLOYEE shall be guaranteed working conditions which are as sanitary and healthful as practical considering the work to be done.

It would not be necessary that the employee suffer from ill health before he would have cause for complaint in this respect.

Proper lighting, heating, control of dust, and many other similar things which would not be considered to contribute to the total impairment of the employee's health, would be within the range of reasonable requests to the employer to be furnished better working conditions from a healthful standpoint.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT should be given constant thought and study by the legislative branch of the Government, seeking to learn from the actual workings of the plan any needs for amendments, which can be reasonably proven in advance of the amendments being made, to be workable and an improvement in the Act as it is now being administered. As this is unquestionably a Social Gain, it should be fully supported by being made as workable as possible, as little trouble and expense to employees for whose benefit it owes its existence as possible, and as simple as possible. The Act should be broadened in its scope to cover farm workers, domestic servants, and any other employees for whom it is possible to provide in the sharing of the security which it affords. All of these employees, in the natural order of events, also become aged. If there are persons not engaged in interstate commerce in the eyes of the United States Supreme Court, Father Time may still have his eye on them.

Another amendment would seem advisable providing that payments be made without regard to the status of employment of the beneficiary, because the money in the fund is their money and should be to do with as they please while they are still alive, and there should be no requirement affecting the conduct of their lives necessary to make them eligible to receive their money which has been saved up for them, after they have reached the age at which it was contemplated it would be paid them. Especially it should not be required that they become idle, as a great many of them enjoy work and could be very, very useful if employed, and they should not be subjected to the frustration incident to idleness and the realization that they may no longer be considered wanted in their usual walks of life, in order to draw down their money. A vast number of active people do not thrive upon retirement.

Another amendment might recognize that the infirmities which

come with age begin at an earlier age with some individuals than with the average individual, and any individual in line for old age benefit payments who believes that the encroachment of the infirmities associated with age were affecting him to the extent that he was entitled to begin receiving his old age benefits, should be permitted to make a showing, offering competent medical opinion in regard to the nature and extent that the ravages of age were affecting his capacity to work, and upon proper showing he should have the right to an examination by a Medical Board who would pass upon his eligibility to begin receiving benefit payments before he reached the age of 65 provided in the Act.

The Act should be amended to provide that the employer should pay the total amount of the tax, as a payroll tax, which is necessary for the creation of this fund, relieving the employee of paying any part of the tax. This would be an additional burden incident to being an employer, which employer could assume, and it would result in a considerable simplification in the bookkeeping on the part of everyone concerned in the handling of the matter. Regardless of who pays the tax, it is a sum of money which is taken out between the amount of money that the workers receive and the ultimate consuming purchasers' pay for the product. The workers constitute a vast majority of the consuming purchasers. Regardless of where this sum of money is taken out, it is largely the worker's money which is taken out and saved for his later benefit, and any expense that can be saved in the simplification of the transaction is helpful to the workers, and any effort which can be saved can better be expended in creative production. This would be one more step away from payroll deductions for employees.

Another suggested amendment: Time and experience will probably prove that the age of 65 as a time for beginning payments to a beneficiary is too old for the reasonable satisfaction and best interests of the workers.

The time will come when there will be a truer perspective of the best interests of employees in the matter of old age benefits compared with what Social Security really is. The requirement that the worker create an estate will sometime be abandoned for the reason that the worker is not naturally an estate-creating person, so there is an injustice in his being taxed for the purpose of creating an estate unless he wishes to do so. He may not even like his heirs. It may be mutual. It may serve best to lighten and lengthen his declining years if he has small sums to pass out to pay for care and bribe small affections, rather than an estate to leave when he has departed this earth. Properly approached, there are still agents of safe insurance companies who will sell insurance against death, if that is what he wants. He should not be forced in this, for he may know better than his paternal Government. Instead, the Act should truly be what the worker generally thinks of it as being — a benefit-paying plan during his lifetime.

If this change is ever made in Social Security, the tax can be lowered substantially and there still be an ample fund available from which the worker could draw handsome monthly payments from the time he has reached the required age until his death.

IN CONCLUSION, both Labor and Management should suspend any common quarrel long enough to join hands to repel the intruder any time the long arm of Bureaucracy reaches out to grab either of them, and refrain from toying with poverty and slavery by either one invoking the Government to "seize the property" and help subdue the other. They may be disappointed. The dispute may be settled forever. The Bureaucrat may forget some time which portfolio he put them in.

These opinions I am presenting to those interested in the subjects dealt with, in the hope I may have contributed some thought, sentence or word which will become a part of their program to help the wage earner and better mankind.

H. L. HUNT,
Dallas, Texas.

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Pioneer in "Work" Move

Independent Oil Producer Has Extensive Holdings in
Tullos, Urania Field, and in East Texas.

TOWN TALK — Alexandria, La.
January, 1933

as the largest independent oil producer in East Texas,
3 producing wells, in addition to seventy wells in Arkansas
enty-five more in Louisiana, H. L. Hunt, a pioneer in the
e-work movement, has extensive holdings in the Urania
illos fields. Besides his oil production, he operates a pipe
these fields. T. M. Rabb, superintendent of the Hunt in-
in the Urania and Tullos fields, was in Alexandria today
led at the Town Talk office.

g before national leaders were urging the giving of more
ment by reduction of working hours and hiring of addi-
workers," Mr. Rabb said, "Mr. Hunt had already put such
into effect in his business. It was in October 1931, fifteen
ago, that he instituted the plan in his East Texas field
ons. Running eight rigs at the time, he was employing
men with each, working a twelve-hour shift, the common
for drilling crews.

raising the hourly wage 10 per cent and cutting the number
king hours to six instead of twelve, he gave employment to
itional eighty men. His production department was enabled
loy fifty more men, making a total then of 130 persons
work. This was continued until the spring of 1932, when
ft was made eight hours in drilling and a five-day week
opted. Production department hours were continued at six
The result of all the changes was employment of between
d 200 more persons, who otherwise, would have been
work.

raise in hourly wages, despite the drop in hours worked,
he plan appeal to drilling crew members, particularly since,
me worker's wages were somewhat higher before, he fre-
was keeping up other oil field workers in his family, who
en out of employment. The spreading of the work, spread
ges until most of the workers cleared more and many more
ven a feeling of independence from being able to care for
a family, without outside aid.

ther adoption of the plan of reducing hours worked in the
1 of unemployment and the way out of the wilderness of
nomic readjustment," Mr. Rabb quoted Mr. Hunt as
declared. "He regards lower working hours as inevitable
due to bring the opportunity for mental and other improve-
f the workers through the additional leisure afforded them."

example set by Hunt in shortening the workweek in October
n oil and other industries became a great factor in meeting
employment situation in the 1930's.

y of the philosophies recited in this brochure were carried
into my books, ALPACA, published in 1960, and AL-
REVISITED in 1967.

actively,

Hunt

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H. L. HUNT

Dallas, Texas 75202

ENFORCEABLE LEGAL RIGHTS FOR WAGE EARNERS

Wage earners are being baited into a position of having to pay
fees to large organizations in order to receive liberal wages and
other benefits from employers.

To gain legal standing they are encouraged to precipitate "labor
disputes," after which they are permitted to threaten, and commit,
acts of violence. After the labor dispute becomes established, their
employers are generally unshackled to some extent and permitted
to meet the wage earners' demand or, in the case of unwilling
employers, ordered to meet the wage earners' demands.

Much complaint is to be heard of racketeering GANGSTER
labor leaders. Hope is expressed that a reform will result in
replacing the boys of the Prohibition Era with good, steady going,
conscientious men from among the actual workers. So long as
employees are only furnished rights formerly associated with hood-
lumism, it is quite handy to have someone around versed in
STRONG ARM technique, to teach and lead the workers in the
exercise of the rights upon which they must depend.

If wage earners are to escape being maneuvered by bureaucratic
decree and court decisions into ONE organization, resulting in
complete loss of freedom, they must be guaranteed legal rights as
individuals, enforceable through the Courts. Suggestions for study
of the nature of some of these rights follow:

1. The right of any person to solicit, accept and continue work
without the necessity of satisfying any other person except
employer, or paying any fees to employer or any other person
or association.
2. To join and belong to any labor Union.
3. To quit his job at will without penalties and without impairing
his eligibility for other employment.
4. To vacations with pay.
5. To accept bonuses from employer.
6. To recreational and entertainment facilities.
7. To receive periodic increases in pay based exclusively on
seniority.
8. To be paid a minimum wage adequate to maintain good living
conditions.
9. To be paid a proportionately higher wage in return for individ-
ual skill, application or workmanship.
10. To be free from abuse of foremen or superiors.
11. To contest the grounds of his discharge from employment.
12. To receive half pay for time off caused by sickness.
13. To be free from any discrimination by employer which might
arise from making requests to employer for any rights.
14. To be afforded healthful working conditions.
15. The right to free counsel, easy access to the Courts, and
nominal court costs.

In addition to the above fifteen rights, there will be a suggestion
of amendments which could be made to the Social Security Act
redounding to the benefit of wage earners.

THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO WORK, if satisfac-
tory to the prospective or actual employer, shall carry freedom
from the levying of tribute by employer or any other person or
association. If he can be denied the right to work for any par-
ticular company, it can easily come to pass that he can be denied
the right to work for any other company or person.

A striking example of recent interference with the right to work
that should be vested in every individual, is the jurisdictional strike.
Two small groups, bound by the sacramental tenets of their
respective Unions defining their field of work, sacrifice the con-
tribution of an entire plant to the national economy and throw
thousands of other workers into enforced idleness. There is born

a prohibition of work through disagreement of a small percentage of the workers, when every other necessary element for productive labor is present. It is not a strike against the management, who becomes helpless to produce, and can offer nothing to satisfy and placate in order to resume production.

It is safe to assume that, as individuals, many participants in incidents of this kind would welcome an opportunity to proceed with their own job, but they follow the leader and stand with the group rather than face the displeasure of the group by standing apart. If, as an individual, the worker had a method to substantiate his right to work, with the legal sanction of a court clothed with jurisdiction to declare and enforce his right, a vast number would avail themselves of the opportunity and this foolishness would cease.

In every case of enforced mass idleness there is an unwilling minority, and often an unwilling but less belligerent and less vocal majority, who would work if their safety was secure. There was a time when strikes were directed almost wholly against the immediate employer and served the purpose of getting from the employer, for the workers, a greater share of the profits the employer was making — and the wage increase was not passed on to the consuming public in the form of higher prices for the product. Of recent years, the economy has become so delicately adjusted, and income taxes on any money made by the employer have become so high, that the bargaining for increases in wages take on an entirely different aspect.

It is not yet generally recognized, but any increase in the current wages, whether obtained through request, strike, or the enforceable legal rights of employees herein advocated, and regardless of the fitness and justness of the required advance in wages, becomes the satisfaction of a requirement at the expense of, and therefore against, farmers, school teachers, capitalists, workers in other industries, and all other segments of society, through the change in the apportionment of the division of the national income. This is not saying that the wage increases are bad, but it points out with emphasis the necessity that the wage adjustments be made without stoppages of production, destruction of property, loss through idleness and disorganization, and inefficiencies resulting from dissatisfaction and rancor.

To avoid the losses which can easily destroy private ownership, resulting in the operation of all business by the government with the attendant loss of efficiency, the wage adjustments must be made fairly, equitably and orderly, with the consent of all the people. It would serve no good purpose if each different class was forced to organize and selfishly fight every other class for its existence.

An impartial WAGE COMMISSION is indicated as being essential in assisting in the adjustments so that every earner may have as fair a wage as possible.

The legally enforceable right to work without interference from any source should have only this one reasonable limitation: An employee shall not work at a less wage than a minimum wage properly established in Court for the class of work performed. His doing this would work a hardship on others desiring to do the same class of work, as it would interfere with their obtaining sufficient income from their work to maintain an adequate standard of living.

EVERY INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYEE SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO BELONG TO ANY UNION or association of his own choosing, or to include himself in any lawful group of two or more persons for the purpose of advancing his interests, and shall not be denied the right to work by employer or any other person on account of belonging to any organization. He shall not be forced to permit a majority of his fellow workers to represent him against his own wishes. If he had this right, the representatives of some Bureau could not appear and hold that a Union, association or group with whom the employee had decided his best interests reposed, was without standing because it did not represent a majority of the employees, or decide that it must be disbanded

because it was a company fostered Union.

The protection employees need against company fostered Unions should be taken care of with a law prohibiting company officials, or any representatives of management, from taking any steps whatsoever to establish or foster any association of employees for bargaining purposes, with a good stiff penalty for any violation. This prohibition should include any use by the management of any association of employees which was organized for educational, entertainment and similar purposes in satisfying any bargaining demands of labor.

The employee shall not be required to pay any amount greater than he wishes for representation in his bargaining, and he may avail himself of any nature of representation he may decide to use for his best interests, if he prefers not to act alone as an individual.

He may find himself being subjected to unfavorable working conditions to which no other employee is being subjected or, because of other reasons, no other employee is interested in his plight. Still he is in position to act alone in getting such conditions corrected. Hardships which are individual, applying only to one employee, are not unusual.

Texas, politically conscious, is just now enjoying a spot in the National limelight — "Will the candidates for presidential electors chosen at the regular State Convention support the nominee chosen at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?" Texas has contributed much to the fighting on the battlefronts while being comparatively free of violence on the home front. We have an Anti-Violence Act in case of labor disputes which is thought to be responsible for the dearth of strikes within the State. It is against the law to beat up a man because he tries to work. How unusual!

THE RIGHT TO QUIT A JOB has so thoroughly been taken for granted that it would be difficult to point to any specific authority for the existence of such right. With the continuation of the present trend, legal provisions unmistakably giving and protecting this privilege have become a need. In many lines of work a Certificate of Availability must be secured from the employer by the employee before he can secure other employment within sixty days from the time he quits, inflicting a penalty of sixty days of enforced idleness if he quits his job. Subterfuge and deceit are required if reemployment is effected sooner.

From time to time the head of the Manpower Commission and others high in the Administration have sounded off, trial ballooning a demand for a draft of manpower. The President of the United States in a message to Congress asked for a draft of manpower to help prevent strikes, which implies a forfeiture of the right to quit. Limitations on the right of the individual to terminate employment were with us as a wartime measure; but constantly the effort was made, and we may safely judge will continue to be made, to extend various of the wartime measures. They are more easily created than they are discontinued.

For employees on the public payrolls, the right to quit a job becomes less certain. To quit may be interpreted as a strike against the Government that cannot be permitted because it has the aspect of treason.

At the present time there is the probability of such domination of the executive and legislative branches of the Government by labor organizations as to develop into a dictatorship. Labor Unions as known at this time, with diversified memberships, would cease to exist. Collecting fees or dues would become small change. The payment of dues affords the feeling that the payor has something coming because he has paid for it, and certainly this would not suit the head of a government exercising absolute powers. The amount of money which could be raised from this source would become unattractive if one could take as much as he wished, from any source that he wished, and distribute it where it would do the most good in perpetuating himself in power. No doubt the individual's right to quit would cease. In foreign countries where the

Labor leadership has resolved into a dictatorship, workers have been lined up and shot for exercising their right to quit.

Attempts have been made here to convert strikes against management into strikes against the government through the subterfuge of the President purporting to take over the operation of the properties, but the power has not been absolute enough to make this work in every case. The issuance of directives, in the allocation of rights and privileges to workers, through a highly prejudiced Bureau exercising powers of prosecutor, judge and jury, has been more effective. So long as the Bureau has remained highly prejudiced in favor of the demands being made by the workers, this has worked. It would require the enforcement of unlimited authority to enforce these directives when favoritism to the employee could no longer be given.

The first, second and third laws which have been discussed should contribute little to the volume of work for the courts if they were the law, as they only make legal rights which were considered inalienable until recently, and would not require length of time for the public to understand and adopt. Some of the rights for employees yet to be discussed will necessarily require a great volume of trials in court.

Easy access to the courts, and a prompt decision from the courts, would be of paramount importance to any employee or group of employees who found it necessary to ask the courts to pass upon their claim. This would necessitate an enlargement of the present lower court system. In order that they could be heard in a court having the greatest familiarity and understanding of their case, which would assist in their getting a prompt decision, there should be special labor case Judges appointed in the same manner as the present United States District Judges. Districts should be sufficiently small to afford the employee the greatest convenience in getting his complaint heard.

These Labor Court Judges should be of the same stature as the present District Judges.

Or it might be that this added volume of work could best be handled by the selection by the present District Judges of Commissioners or Referees suitable to hear these cases, and whose findings would have all the dignity of the present District Judges.

In either event, the special Labor Judges, the Commissioner, or the Referee, would be made available to move from district to district, wherever needed by the volume of cases to be heard. Included in the hours during which these Courts would be in session should be the hours from 7:00 o'clock P.M. to 12:00 o'clock P.M., in order that a complaining wage earner could appear in court presenting his witnesses without requiring him or his witnesses to lay off from their daytime employment.

There should be selected in a similar manner salaried attorneys, who would be granted an ample salary for full time employment, and who would be available to employees in assisting them in the preparation of their cases for trial, and in the presentation of their cases in court. As fairness requires equity, counsel should also be furnished employers to act for them in a similar capacity.

In cases to be heard which did not involve any intricate presentation, this Court might function in the same manner as some of the other special courts, such as the Court of Small Claims, where the Judge of the court asks the question of all litigants in developing the testimony. This procedure should enable the Court to handle a greater volume of work, and expedite the handing down of decisions.

In setting any case for hearing which would call for recommendations from the Wage and Hour Commission, the Judge of the court would notify the Commission, ordering it to prepare, and appear and present, its findings in the case. The findings of the Court subject to appeal would, in the case of a controversy in regard to the minimum wage paid in a certain plant, be of at least six months standing as to the minimum wage to be paid at that plant.

The cost of counsel for the employee would be a part of the court costs, which would be a flat fee as low as practicable, probably \$25.00. It would only be high enough to discourage the appearance in the court of the litigants should either of them be able to see from the line of decisions which had been handed down that there was no merit in his side of the case and that he was not justified in incurring court costs. If the defendant should see he was wrong, the fee he would probably have to pay, though small, would encourage him to meet complainant's request. The small fee would also discourage complainant, if his complaint arose from petulance rather than an infringement of his legal rights. The complainant would be required to pay into the court this fee, which would apply in the defraying of the court expense, and the loser of the case would be required to stand the court fee.

Any private counsel which either side wished to use could appear in the court, either as sole counsel or to assist the public counsel who would be furnished free to litigants.

Jurisdiction in these cases should not be limited to the Labor Courts, but an employee should have the right to file suit under the Act in any Court of competent jurisdiction. In case the employee elected to appear in any other court than the special Labor Court, he should be subject to all of the usual court costs incident to a trial in that court. However, should he be successful in his case, he should be required to pay the difference in the costs taxed and those that would have been taxed had he prosecuted his suit in the Labor Court.

A Wage Commission, the work of which would be so nearly akin and would fit in with a commission making findings as to the needed hours in a work week that it could function as a WAGE AND HOUR COMMISSION, will be required in the functioning of some of these laws. A prime duty of the Commission would be to make findings in order to recommend to Congress the number of hours which should comprise the work week during future stated periods of perhaps a half year each. This would be a big but comparatively simple task of developing through statistics an estimate of the amount of work to be done by wage earners and the number of people there would be to do the work, the man hours of work to be done and the capacity in man hours of the people available to do the work. A reasonably correct estimate should result in laws being passed from time to time changing the number of hours in the work week, preventing the occurrence of any abnormal unemployment at any time.

Today's newspaper carried an article stating that there are fifty-one separate laws covering unemployment insurance. It seemed that the writer thought additional laws were needed. The control of the number of hours in the work week should make at least fifty of these laws unnecessary. It should result in the wage earner being freed from having deductions made from his check to cover unemployment insurance. These deductions are becoming too numerous. That there is to be no unemployment for employables is the best possible unemployment insurance.

The personnel of the vast Bureau handling unemployment insurance could be decimated and most of them become available to work in productive capacities and the employers could reduce their staff of accountants. Unfairness and sharp practices in collecting unemployment insurance compensation would become things of the past.

The great problems which are now causing fear as to what will happen when the soldiers return to civilian life can be immeasurably simplified. There could be no really successful depression without the jobless, and without the failure of widely distributed purchasing power attending unemployment.

Early in the last depression this simple, logical cure was on the verge of being incorporated into being a law. This was a law providing for a forty-hour work week. It was passed in the Senate by a large majority. It was reported favorably by such a large majority of the Committee in the House as to insure its passage. Then it was sidetracked by the Administration springing N. R. A. on

Congress. N. R. A. was not such a simple law. The Administration did not at that time favor the short work week. William Green of the A. F. L. did. Gen. Hugh Johnson, who was placed in supreme command of industry and labor through his appointment by the President to head N. R. A., condemned the short work week as undesirable, and a further relapse into depression occurred.

The depression continued along its miserable way, while what was then called (before we reached our present state of education) -ism after -ism was tried, to no avail. There was improvement when finally a control of the work week was employed, although a work week short enough to absorb all unemployment was not used. The depression was finally cured by the entrance of the United States in war. But for this long continuance of the depression there might have been no war. If the democracies had been strong at home the dictatorships would have felt less strong; they would have been comparatively weak.

With the advent of war, the length of the work week was not stepped up by Congress and the Administration; to have done so might have incurred the displeasure of some of the powerful labor leaders who had grown so strong they were beginning to control the votes of the members under their rule. Congress and the Administration chose for themselves the easier course. They incurred for the taxpayers the tremendous increase in the cost of war occasioned by time and a half for overtime of a work week planned for depression and not war. They risked inflation. There was no resistance to sending the boys away to fight. This they did, hoping through compromising, placating and the use of expedients, to get sufficient support at home for the fighting forces and themselves still feel safe that they had not alienated the organized votes they would need to continue in office. There have been times when the support worked out by the politicians for the soldiers has seemed pretty poor, but it was not vote losing.

Improvement in technocracy has been great, yet the interruption in normal production, the return of the soldiers to civilian life, and the labor saving technique and devices, make the work week needed rather unpredictable.

The following table is suggested:

56-hour week	8 hours	7 days	To have met top war requirement.
52-hour week	8 hours	7 days one week 6 days next week	War work well under way.
48-hour week	8 hours	6 days	Now catching up.
44-hour week	8 hours	6 days one week 5 days next week	Work in good shape.
40-hour week	8 hours	5 days	Soldiers begin returning.
36-hour week	6 hours	6 days	To furnish jobs to disbanding army.
33-hour week	6 hours	6 days one week 5 days next week	Unemployment had shown up while week was 36 hours.
30-hour week	6 hours	5 days	Fine to give leisure and happy employment.
Any shorter week			To forestall doles.
Any longer week			To get needed work done.

Time and a half for overtime for hours worked above the authorized work week is desirable because the overtime practice can be employed in getting the work done wherever and whenever there is a shortage of workers. Should the overtime work become common, there would be required a change, lengthening the prevailing work week.

The less time taken out of an individual's life leaves more time for leisure, education and entertainment, which is all to the good.

The time spent in worthwhile production is also unquestionably salutary effort. It is when the work to be done is not properly divided and distributed to prevent unemployment for many normal workers and when simulated jobs, dole and relief start, that disintegration begins.

The work week in the different industries should be as nearly the same as possible. This should also be true of work for wages on farms. Farm work is very exacting and strength taxing. It is not fair and just that an unprivileged class should be developed in the rural sections. Continued enticing of the workers from the farms to the congested industrial centers through the lure of less labor hours per week should be discontinued. Being farm reared, they often lose a part of their happiness of existence and their stability of character, and this loss the nation can ill afford.

The changing of the work hours on the farm would necessarily increase the price of farm products, which would soon become automatically adjusted to the national economy, and would relieve the present bitterness on the part of the farm class. The reward to be realized from farm production would become a counter attraction which would bring workers back to the farm in case of a lag in industrial employment, instead of their staying in the congested areas and asking for relief commensurate with the high living costs which they have to meet.

The hours of work per week have been contemplated for wage workers. The individual who is not working for wages is not required by any other person to work longer than he desires, so he will always work as little or as much as he elects in carving out his living. The wage earner has the privilege of working as much as he pleases for himself in addition to his wage earning hours, and this does not work a hardship on anyone else and is highly desirable.

It may be argued that Congress might not be in session at some time when a change in the hours of the work week was imperative, and the Commission should be empowered to make any changes needed by an issuance of their directive to effect the needed change. The need of the change in the work week would always be of such prime importance as to justify the calling of Congress into session.

The work of this Commission in making findings on changes in the hours of the work week and in regard to the minimum wages to be paid would supplant so many other Commissions and so many Bureaus that the WAGE AND HOUR COMMISSION would become a "Daddy Commission," capable of engulfing the entire population in its power if it were empowered with the right to issue orders and decrees with force of law. The length of the work week and the minimum wage are so vital, and so affect the life of every individual, that the laws dealing with them must come from the people through their elected representatives and this power must never be delegated.

THE EMPLOYEE IS ENTITLED TO VACATIONS WITH PAY because the loss of pay would force many employees, even though they realized the physical need for a vacation, to postpone it through economic necessity. The continued postponement, awaiting the time when the employee felt that he could afford to take a vacation at his own expense, in many instances would virtually be as disastrous as foregoing a vacation altogether. The effect of fatigue falls roughly into two classes — immediate and long-time fatigue. The first is ordinarily overcome from day to day by reason of intervening rest between periods of work, but, as to long-time fatigue, over a period of time the sameness of any particular job tends to bring about a certain degree of staleness that may seriously impair the efficiency and pleasure of an employee in his work. The accompanying dullness of the senses and lack of alertness is conducive to accident and errors in judgment. Since the expense for the employer is self-liquidating in the higher quality of work of the employee, setting up the vacation with pay as an enforceable legal right of the employee resolves itself into a requirement for their mutual good.

EMPLOYEES SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO ACCEPT ANY BONUS which the employer may elect to give. A ceiling on wages can properly prohibit any promise of a bonus, but should not prohibit the payment of a reasonable bonus, because the distribution is generally made after the money which goes into the bonus payment has been accumulated.

A bonus is a form of profit sharing, and the better employers have made a practice of employing it in the past. It has been discouraged recently by regulations which were not planned for building up and maintaining the best of feelings between employee and employer.

In order to make it possible that the employee may receive a reasonable bonus, the rules and regulations, or the law, which practically makes the payment of a bonus impossible, should be changed.

The employer should be authorized to treat as business expense any bonus to an employee which is not in excess of 25% of the employee's total wage during the year. Bonuses are taxable income to the employees, and after paying their tax the increased amount of money in the hands of many employees would flow into a sufficient number of taxable channels to leave little doubt that only the source, and not the amount of revenue to the government, would be affected.

There would be reopened this avenue — that employee could share in the good fortune and prosperity of the employer.

THE RIGHT OF THE EMPLOYEE TO REQUIRE FROM HIS EMPLOYER THE FACILITIES FOR RECREATION, EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT is very well justified.

A great many employers may object to the reasonableness of a requirement that they do anything for employees while off the job, but it is often the case that employees are somewhat cramped in regard to providing for themselves a social life which enables them to live the better and more wholesome life.

If the employees working for one employer are sufficient in number, they should be furnished a club room where they could entertain and mix and mingle. There should be a reading room and games. If they are not in sufficient number that this is practical, the employer should be required to furnish them membership in, or access to, a club having these facilities.

The employer who is unwilling to do this can be reasonably sure that if he does not feel like being troubled with this job, there are representatives of certain gentlemen, who make the practice of giving him all the trouble they can, who will do these things for him.

Referring to law or item number seven, **THE RECOGNITION OF SENIORITY** has nearly always been practiced in some form, but the employee should be given this recognition in the form of a wage higher than a beginner's wage, in order that other men, such as greater skill or promotion, shall not be clouded nor involved. An employee should be advanced for seniority alone, irrespective of any other status of his pay, 1% for each year worked, up to a maximum of 10%. If he has been good enough to keep on the job year after year, and been reliable and dependable enough to stay on the job, he has a certain value to the employer above a beginner. It stands to reason that in shaping his life to fill this particular job he may have become less fitted for other walks in life. While it can become somewhat of a burden on the employer to pay a senior more than other workmen who are turning out the same amount and quality of work, this simply falls into the class of some of the burdens which an employer might as well recognize in advance that he will be subjected to, and that he should fit himself to carry. There is a certain quality of justice involved in this issue, and it is not going to break the employer unless he was going broke anyway. In dollars and cents, if his seniority cost averages 4% he will find himself producing in competition with other employers whose average seniority cost is about the same, and this cost does not fall until the business begins to be well established as a going concern.

H. L. HUNT COLUMN--#133
(Written and released, June 2, 1965)

LENGTH OF WORK WEEK

Following the depression which began in 1929, unemployment was high. In 1931 I was active drilling and equipping leases acquired through purchasing Dad Joiner's discovery property of the East Texas Field.

Work in rotary drilling was not arduous and it was good practice to keep a drilling rig running continuously. Drilling labor customarily worked in 12 hour shifts.

I conceived a plan to provide work for twice as many men by reducing the shifts to six hours, six days a week. Most of the major companies and other large employers in the oil field followed this example with five 8 hour days per week, which was easier to install and resulted in nearly as few hours per week. Other industries began putting the plan into effect.

Our personnel were glad to see employment extended to the idle and worked with increased efficiency.

With me the short work week was the positive cure for the depression, and I began campaigning for it with acquaintances in Congress and attending meetings of the leaders and conventions of both major political parties.

Senator Hugo Black (D-Ala.), who was a more constructive MC than present Supreme Court Justice, introduced a bill which passed the Senate. To meet some technicality it was passed the second time. The Ways and Means Committee reported the bill favorably which by precedent nearly insured its passage in the House of Representatives.

The Administration sidetracked the Black Bill in favor of the National Recovery Act (NRA), which gave the government close supervision of industry. NRA became the law June 16, 1933, creating many bureaus. NRA, but not the bureaus, was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of May 27, 1935. HLH END 250 words

Section 1 — 2nd Sec. Soon Available

**The Best
District Reform Plan
versus
The
Direct Vote Plan**

People of thirteen states would lose an average of 54.14% of their Presidential voting power if the Direct Vote was enacted by the House and Senate and ratified by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the State Legislatures.

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INTRODUCED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL
AMENDMENTS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COM-
MITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THEIR RE-
SPECTIVE BODIES BY _____

_____ OF THE U. S. HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES AND BY _____

_____ OF THE U. S. SENATE.

**JOINT RESOLUTION:
PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES PROVIDING FOR
THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
AND VICE PRESIDENT.**

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

"ARTICLE

- "SECTION 1.** Each State shall choose a number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State is entitled in the Congress, two electors to be elected at large by the people and one elector to be elected from each Congressional District in the State.
- 1** Electors shall be residents of the State and electors of Congressional Districts from the District from which elected. Each candidate for the office of elector shall be pledged to the two persons paired together for whom he will vote for President and Vice President and may campaign for them if nominated. In the event of the
 - 2** death, disability or inability to act of any elector prior to completing his duties of office, a substitute who shall honor his pledge shall be designated by a standing committee of seven established for that purpose by the State Legislature. In the event of the death of any
 - 3** nominee for President and Vice President during the election campaign, successors shall promptly be named by a committee of seven established for that purpose by the convention at which they were nominated. Electors shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, but no United States Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be chosen an elector.

"SECTION 2. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by separate signed ballots for President

and Vice President, one of whom, at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. They shall tally the ballots cast and certify and transmit the tally list sealed to the President of the Senate who, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives assembled, shall open the tally lists and the votes shall then be counted. The person receiving the greatest number of votes cast for President and Vice President paired together shall be the President and Vice President.

"SECTION 3. If the persons voted on for President and Vice President paired together are tied for the highest number of votes cast with other persons voted on for President and Vice President paired together, then the pair receiving the votes of the highest number of Congressional Districts shall be the President and Vice President.

"SECTION 4. Electors appointed pursuant to the Twenty-third Article of Amendment to the Constitution shall be elected by the people of the District of Columbia and other areas to which suffrage may be extended and in the manner as the Congress may direct. Such electors shall perform all duties and responsibilities of electors provided for in this article.

"SECTION 5. This article supersedes the second paragraph of Section 1, Article II, of the Constitution, the twelfth article of amendment to the Constitution and Section 4 of the twentieth article of amendment to the Constitution. Except as herein expressly provided, this article does not supersede the twenty-third article of amendment."

The above Resolution proposes a Constitutional Amendment providing for the election of two Presidential Electors from each State and one Presidential Elector from each Congressional District as set out at the time of each impending Presidential election.

The numbers preceding certain lines above designate points that are definite improvements over the Karl Mundt plan.

1. The use of Congressional Districts is no burden to the State Legislatures such as the formation of new and separate districts and does not deny Congressional Districts the prestige each would gain from electing a Presidential Elector in addition to electing a Congressman.

2. Requires each State Legislature to create a standing committee of 7 who shall name a substitute in the event of the death, disability or inability to serve, of a nominee for Presidential Elector prior to his completing his duties of office.

3. Requires the Convention nominating the candidate for President and Vice President to create a standing committee of 7 to name a successor for a nominee for President or Vice President in the event of the death, disability or inability to serve during the cam-

paigned for the Election.

4. Section 3 provided that, in the event of a tie, the pair receiving the votes of the highest number of Congressional Districts shall be the President and Vice President. Heretofore some have complained that a vote by presidential electors might result in a tie, requiring the House of Representative to decide the winner. This provision further removes the possibility of a tie, as there are seldom an even number of Congressional Districts.

5. Section 4 of the amendment above proposed would provide adequately for the additional areas to which the U.S. government extends Presidential suffrage.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX May 19, 1967

Proposed Electoral College Reform IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, May 19, 1967

Statement of H. L. Hunt on Electoral College Reform, to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful that this Committee is devoting its attention to one of the most vital subjects that has ever been discussed in the United States Senate, the method of selecting the President and Vice President of our nation. There are no elective officers in the world of greater or equal importance than these officials.

Because of the formal recognition in 1965 and 1966 of this matter by President Johnson, the high priority which has been assigned to this Committee portends that Congress will finally recommend to the States a constitutional amendment to effect the necessary changes.

The present system of electing the President and Vice President is governed by Article II, Section 1, and the 12th Amendment to the Constitution. These sections provide that the President and Vice President shall be chosen by electors appointed by each State in the manner directed by its legislature, each State having the same number of electors entitled to it by the number of its Members of Congress.

This system was agreed upon by the writers of our Constitution for two basic reasons: first, in order to protect the smaller States, each State shall have two electors in addition to the number of electors based on its population; and second, the electors should actually choose the President and Vice President because of their greater knowledge and public understanding than that of the populace as a whole.

President Johnson, in his message to Congress January 28, 1965, said in part: "... Our present system of computing and awarding electoral votes by states is an essential counterpart of our Federal system and the provisions of our Constitution which recognize and maintain our nation as a union of states. It supports the two party system which has served our nation well. I believe this system should be retained. But it is imperative that the electoral votes of a state be cast for those persons who receive the greatest number of votes for President and Vice-President — and for no one else."

And again reaffirmed in a message to Congress in 1966 his previous request, stating in part:

"In my special message to the Congress last January, I urged an amendment to the Constitution to reform the Elec-

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toral College system. I renew this recommendation and strongly reaffirm the need to reform the electoral college system.

"There are several major defects in the existing system. They should be eliminated in order to assure that the people's will shall not be frustrated in the choice of their President and Vice President..."

Up to this time Congress has been more remiss in taking the action in this matter requested by President Johnson than in adhering to the requests of the President in other matters.

Instead of public participation in this vital matter there is feverish talk favoring the direct vote to elect the President of the USA. Those who talk to their friends or their contemporaries favoring the direct vote plan seldom stress that they favor abolishing the electoral college system although some thoughtlessly and impulsively say, "Let's get completely rid of the entire rubbish of the electoral college system."

Some of them are selfishly taking advantage of the fact that 70% of the people who have any information on the subject favor a change from the present outmoded system. Members of Congress with their far greater knowledge than the average voter favor a change by 85% or more.

It can be hoped that through the action of this honorable Committee in starting hearings the press and other communications media will not give the electoral college system the "silence treatment."

Some of the greatest patriots in our land make the mistake of harping on exclusively the things that are tragically wrong, and often level the charge of "managed news" against the press. They could spend their time and efforts more constructively by making friends with and commending patriots to be found without exception in all sizable establishments in the communications field. They could alert entertainers, editorialists and reporters to "good news" for the truth side.

The people want to know and indeed lawmakers want to know whatever can be said pro or con about the need for changing the present electoral college system and the actions to reform the electoral college system which their President has requested, or at least suggested.

The first Constitutional Amendment proposing reform of the system of electing the President was offered in Congress January 6, 1797, 170 years ago. Seldom does a session of Congress pass without one or more Resolutions of this kind being introduced. None of the proposed Constitutional Amendments have ever been submitted to the State Legislatures.

Regardless of its many faults which should have been reformed with amendments, the electoral college system has been an integral part of our Republic which has built and maintained up to now the greatest nation ever on earth.

The electoral college was critically needed in establishing our Republic and its use must not now be ended without any attempt to reform it to make it more workable.

The wise provisions of the Republic's founders for amending the Constitution they wrote as though guided by divine inspiration that its provisions to which they had given their untiring effort would need to be reformed rather than the provisions be abolished and our finest governmental department start all over again. If they would have abolished the fundamentals which made the founding of the Republic possible they would have no doubt said so or inferred that abolishment in time of stress was the best cure.

Only two things can be said for the Direct Vote Plan: first, that it could deprive both the Republican and Democrat power to nominate and elect Presidents. The mid-city section of the largest cities are becoming the natural domicile of the big city political machines of about 20% of their excessive big city political machines, both Republican and Democrat.

The Direct Vote Plan would offer only minor relief from these evils. The Congressional District Plan would give major relief as many suburbs would be in a separate district of their own.

And second, it would often prevent the election to the Presidency of a candidate who had less than a majority of the popular vote for President. This excuse for the justification of abolishing the electoral college is constantly stressed and may or may not have merit.

There is no proof that a President elected by the electoral college with a minority of the popular vote would deliver a less constructive administration of our country's affairs than his opponent.

Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator and savior of our nation from division, was elected in 1860 by the electoral college with a popular vote of 39.79%.

Grover Cleveland, who twice successfully administered four year terms in office, was elected in 1884 by the electoral college while receiving 48.53% of the popular vote and again in 1892 was elected by the electoral college while receiving 46.04% of the popular vote.

Our World War I President, Woodrow Wilson, was elected in 1912 by the electoral college with 41.85% of the popular vote and re-elected by the electoral college in 1916 with 49.26% of the popular vote.

In 1960 our martyred President, John F. Kennedy, was elected by the electoral college by a margin of 300 electoral votes to 192 with a popular vote percentage of 49.48, two-tenths of one percent more than his opponent. Would our nation be better off today if the opponents of these great Presidents had become President?

These two dubious, unproven and perhaps disproven factors in favor of the direct vote are about the only ones which can be recited in favor of the direct vote plan.

It is commendable on the part of anyone to be open minded unless they are called upon to tolerate treason, but if there are other good, legitimate and compelling advantages to the direct vote plan I have failed to discover them and hope they will be disclosed to the school of thought throughout the nation to which I belong.

There are scores of advantages in the Congressional District Plan over the Direct Vote Plan on which may hang the fate of the nation. These advantages are so vital that no attempt should be made to list them in order of their greatest importance.

One which might be first by date is the fact that the electoral college system for election of the Chief Executive is foremost and unique in its value as a fundamental for establishing a workable Republic where the people are not the servants but are the masters in the process of government.

The founders of freedom who planned our Constitution were no doubt more intent and adept in construing the English Common Law, the Napoleonic Code, the precepts of Julius Caesar, Socrates, Plato, Solomon and all of the other greats in exploration into phases of government than the 1967 students have the time and patience to devote to learning what it takes to make law and order workable.

Only a Republic such as Republic USA can safeguard the minorities among its population from the sometimes whims of the majority and from the dangers of the central government itself which the founders of freedom were dedicated to formulating.

One of the immortals about whom you would feel better if you learned which one for yourself likened government to fire: "Either a useful servant or a fearful master."

No single problem was more troublesome to the delegates attending the Constitutional Convention than the best method by which the Chief Executive should be selected. Eleven different methods were proposed. Election of a President by the

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two Houses of Congress was three times adopted, once unanimously, and then reconsidered and rejected. Election by Congress with each State having one vote was considered. Another suggestion called for the President's selection by the State executives.

Many variations of the electoral system were advanced. A popular vote, the direct vote, was advocated and rejected August 24, 1787, by a vote of 7 to 3. Finally on August 31, 1787, the Committee adopted the method that electors should be chosen by each State in such manner as the Legislature thereof should direct.

An able historian describes the impasse and what was thought to be the solution in these words: "The delegates from the small States were fearful that the large blocks of electoral votes cast by the populous States would enable them to elect the President. It was then pointed out that by voting blindly in their separate States, presumably without any announced candidates, the electors would fail to concentrate a majority on any candidate 19 out of 20 times.

"The small States were then placated by the provision that the House of Representatives, casting one vote for each State, would elect the President from the five candidates standing highest in the electoral vote. Under this system, as it was explained again and again, the large States would nominate the candidates in the electoral college."

The Flag of our great nation has never flown so low and its prestige abroad has never been less. The successful solving of the reform of the Electoral College System would attract favorable notice to Republic USA throughout the world.

The confidence of the ruling elite in the countries of the Communist world is wavering, and the reform of our electoral college system would become a banner flying high in favor of the individual initiative system over the collectivist system which now, as always before, is failing to feed its people.

If we with our action would suggest to the world instead a direct vote to choose our Chief Executive, it would have little if any favorable impact in our favor. Dictators extend to their populace the privilege of going to the polls and casting a vote for their dictator and his stooges. They could laugh in their sleeves if they found the claimants of champions of freedom offering their populace a chance to cast a direct vote.

They could smirkingly smile and ask, "What has become of your highly vaunted system of government providing checks and balances and protection for its minorities instead of dictatorship? No wonder that this 'paper tiger' cannot conquer a few hundred thousand dissidents in South Vietnam."

The abolishment of the Electoral College with its contribution to workable self government for the individual and the "masses" could be a reminder that in the past 22 years one billion people have been lost from the free world into the direct and actual rule of Communist dictators.

The need of the founders for the smaller of the 13 Colonies in founding our Republic was imperative. As an inducement to join the Republic the Founders accorded them two electoral votes in the electoral college representative of their two United States Senators. In addition the small colonies were given one, sometimes two, Presidential electoral votes from their rather sparse population, which became the basis for their representation in the House of Representatives, whichever was justified by their population.

These awards of members of the electoral college have been followed in the admission of territories when they became States in the Union, such as Nevada.

The smaller colonies have fared none too well in representation to other Departments of the Federal Government. "Three of the original 13 states, Delaware, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, were never given an appointment to the Supreme Court bench until Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire was appointed

in 1845. That was the only high court seat ever given any of these three states; Vermont, the 14th state, has never placed a Justice on the high bench, either." This one appointment for these four States was the first and only one to the Supreme Court.

These small states fared about as poorly as compared with the large States in appointments to the Cabinets of Presidents and other positions of high honor. But they do enjoy a bonus of voting power in the electoral college which, perhaps because they do not understand, many of their Members in Congress today are willing to surrender for their people in favor of accepting the abolition of the electoral college system. Abolishing the electoral college is a fundamental of the Direct Vote Plan.

Their members of Congress decry and fear the voting power afforded the populace of New York and other large States. The number of electors in all States is determined by the population shown in the last census.

New York has a voting power of one Presidential Elector for each 390,286 inhabitants. Members of Congress from some of the small States are actually asking for a direct vote for their people who have much greater voting power in the electoral college than New York.

Nevada has one elector for each 95,093 population; therefore, unless my arithmetic has gone astray, Nevada is empowered with the privilege of a presidential elector for one-fourth as many of its people per elector as has New York. One voter in Nevada has four times as much voting power as one voter in New York State.

The District Plan, if it supplants the present electoral college system, will continue and carry this advantage in the College to the smaller States which they now enjoy.

These Members of Congress may require the assistance of their constituents in figuring out the relative merits of the Congressional District Plan compared with the Direct Vote Plan.

Alaska, our newest and largest State in the Union enjoys a voting power of one elector for each 75,389 of its population. The stout-hearted pioneers and frontiersmen of Alaska are entitled to this consideration of which they should not be deprived by the thoughtless action of enthusiasts for the Direct Vote Plan, which Communist dictators at least pretend to make available to their subjects.

Under the District Plan the voters of every State in the Union will have a greater voting power than the voters of New York State, and the District Plan is not in any way a spite plan against New York as it will give great relief to the areas removed from Tammany and Rockefeller Center.

A great disadvantage to people who enjoy some semblance of States Rights would be the fact that the Direct Vote would necessarily result in the Federal Government conducting elections within the boundaries of the individual States. Its reign would nullify some and finally all the privileges of the States to conduct the elections within their boundaries. It would immediately nullify their system for the permission for absentee balloting which varies across the nation from State to State and are formulated for the convenience of the citizens of each State.

If the direct election of the President and his running mate should be required by an amendment to our Constitution the Federal Government would have to impose the age limits to apply to all 50 of the States and in the District of Columbia.

The Federal Government would state the minimum period of time that the voter must have been a resident of the State in which he was then residing. We now have States which allow citizens to vote at the age of 18 and a State that allows citizens to vote at the age of 19. Four of our States allow citizens to vote at the age of 20, and these age limits different than 21 are prescribed by the residents and voters of those States in accordance with their best opinion as to the proper

age at which the State's citizens may be afforded the privilege of suffrage.

I have mentioned only a few of the scores of compelling reasons which prove the superiority of the Congressional District Plan over the Direct Vote. Many other reasons could be described but it might seem that it was belaboring the point.

Many advocates of the District Plan more able than I will no doubt present the desirability of the District Plan.

It is my fondest hope that this Committee will exercise its prerogative and select the very best of the plans which have been unfolded before it or a better plan than any of them which it could originate and send an Amendment to the State Legislatures which would relieve our nation from the burden of the present operation of the antiquated electoral college system.

Constructively,

H. L. HUNT.

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

Friday, August 13, 1967

Electoral Reforms

To the Editor:

The Congressional District Plan proposes a constructive reform of the Electoral College system. It would make full use of electors as public servants.

A Committee of former nominees would have an eminence which would add significance to whatever proposals they recommended or views they expressed. Their support on matters of public interest would be sought, also their advice and recommendations solicited by public servants from the presidency down.

Under the present Electoral College system electors are mere straw-men; the direct vote plan would destroy their tremendous potential as public servants by abolishing the Electoral College system altogether. The Congressional District Plan would utilize them as men who hold this nation's well-being above all else.

Statement of H. L. Hunt filed with THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY on August 23, 1967.

United States Senator Birch Bayh, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the entire Subcommittee have extended me great courtesy in considering my views regarding a change in the Electoral College system.

Senator Bayh and members of the Committee have been so very fair that I hope and suppose that other witnesses have fared equally well.

Two reasons have been advanced in favor of the direct vote plan or plans: (a) It would reduce the power of big city machines domiciled in the mid-section of the very large cities, (b) They claim it would prevent the election of a President who did not have a majority of the popular vote.

We who favor a Congressional District Plan say and give reason why the district plan is best.

1. The Direct Vote could prevent the election of a minority vote President only by employing run-off elections. A run-off nation-wide election is not practical.
2. The reduction in the excessive power of the big city machines by the direct vote would be no more than 20% and the Congressional District Plan would reduce the excessive voting power of big city machines 80% or four times as much.

3. During the past 97 years Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860 with 39.79% of the popular vote; Grover Cleveland with a minority of the popular vote in both his terms; and Woodrow Wilson in 1912 with 41.85% and in 1916 with 49.26% of the popular vote.

With these two lonesome arguments for the direct vote plan thoroughly disproven we may proceed to give the reasons why the direct vote plan is wrong and why the Congressional District Plan is right:

4. The infant nation that fashioned the political miracle of Constitutional Government at Philadelphia in 1787 has become the 20th Century colossus of the world. The constitutional fabric woven by those patriots through eloquence, persuasion, a strong sense of justice, logic, and love of liberty has held firm through the ages.

5. The reform in an orderly manner of our historic Electoral College system would win a great testimonial from free world and from Communist nations abroad to the workability of government to meet problems within the framework of our Republic, which has built the greatest nation in history.

6. There is nothing sacred about direct voting. Whether or not there is, dictators sanctimoniously claim to have been "elected" through the direct vote.

7. The direct vote cannot impress the enslaved subjects

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in dictatorships that Republic USA affords the participation of the governed. Their masters have pretended to give them a direct voting privilege which they found to be only a delusion and a snare, although a direct vote.

8. With the direct vote the prestige of Republic USA would be further decimated. It would be considered little if any better than the "direct vote" their dictators enforce on them with an ultimatum of "vote or else," the penalty being "get out of the party" and sometimes death.

9. James Madison said that the district system of choosing electors was "mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted." The electoral system was foremost in the minds of the delegates.

10. On July 26, 1787, George Mason of Virginia told the Convention that at least 7 proposals had been considered for the selection of a President. It had been open to full debate and study for nearly two months.

11. He said it was proposed that the Chief Executive should be elected by popular vote and this proposal for the "direct vote" had always failed.

12. The direct vote was most criticized. Mason said of it, "It has been proposed that the election should be made by the people themselves; that is, that an act which ought to be performed by those who know most of eminent characters and qualifications should be performed by those who know least." The popularizing of universal suffrage should not replace wisdom.

13. Later on August 24, a motion in the Convention that the President be elected by direct vote was rejected, seven states to three.

14. The Congressional District Plan instead of a direct vote would cause presidential electors to be chosen by people who know them best and they would be citizens of stature instead of nonentities.

15. Under the Congressional District Plan the qualifications and attributes of the nominees for the two electors representing the State and the elector from the District would be well known to the electorate of their State or District.

16. The prominence and reputation of electors would add to the prestige of the candidates for whom they are pledged to vote and all other candidates and officials of their political party.

17. Nominees to the Electoral College would be expected to campaign for the candidate for whom they are pledged to vote and in the event of his election to become Presidential advisors, Cabinet Members, Ambassadors and occupy other positions vital to the nation's interest.

18. Nominees for Presidential electors would campaign for other candidates of their party, its pledges and principles and popularize the party's officials already serving in office, making their party greater and more responsible and responsive.

19. On September 6, 1787, Alexander Hamilton declared, "Let the election of the President be confined to electors." Hamilton had been leading the fight for a highly centralized government.

20. The electoral method of selecting a President was decided upon after long weeks of debate, deliberation and thorough consideration.

21. At the end of many weeks of study and debate at the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was asked by interested parties outside the convention, "What do we have?" His reply was, "A Republic if you can keep it." Congress, in the adoption of an amendment, should feel a responsibility to the memory of Benjamin Franklin.

22. The present system which needs reforming makes of the electors straw men, and the direct vote would dispense completely with electors, destroying their tremendous potential as public servants.

23. Former nominees could constitute an unofficial committee or an official commission influential in rendering services such as the Hoover Commission performed.

24. A commission of former nominees for presidential elector (NPEC) would have a wide range of activities open to it, giving significance to everything they did.

25. Members of such a commission could grant press interviews on subjects of public interest, write articles, appear on public affairs programs on network television, and make reports to the President that would be more objective and helpful than those he receives from his advisors.

26. The commission could name a spokesman for its membership in such fields as foreign affairs, agriculture, defense and other vital areas.

27. Even the Supreme Court might be less supreme when wrong, such as in event of a series of decisions favorable to communists and other subversives which such commission may find not in the public interest or unfavorable to continued survival of the Republic.

28. A Nominee for Presidential Elector Commission would be a great force for good and a source of strength for the country's future.

29. Early in the Convention it was apparent that the least populous states were fearful of the power that might be wielded by the more populous states. This fear was a factor in the rejection of the direct vote as a manner of electing the President of the United States. Their fears were well-founded. Of the first six Presidents of the United States, four were from Virginia and two from Massachusetts.

30. If Members of Congress and State Legislatures abolish the Electoral College with the direct vote plan as a result of a catch phrase or a whim, they will show little veneration for the Founders of Freedom, who after many weeks of deliberation, debate and balloting wrote

a Constitution which nurtured Republic USA, the greatest nation ever on earth.

31. The contest between Alexander Hamilton, who advocated a strong central government, and Thomas Jefferson, who was dedicated to a democracy, fortunately gave birth to our Republic.

32. The need of the immortals for the smaller of the States in founding our Republic was imperative. The States with less population were granted a bonus of Electoral College votes with an elector for each of the two U. S. Senators and one elector for each of their Representatives in the House. The direct vote plan would destroy this bonus system which has been wisely followed for them and for new states when admitted.

33. The generous assignment of presidential electors to the scantily populated states was to compensate for the failure in their being given posts in the Cabinet, Supreme Court, and other high positions in government.

34. Many of the best informed people in the nation today who deplore the present electoral college system say that a direct vote would be far worse than the present system by advancing the centralization of our government.

35. It would cause the Federal Government to come into the States to conduct each Presidential election.

36. The direct vote would nullify the present system of absentee voting formulated for the convenience of the citizens of each state.

37. The Federal Government would establish rules for absentee voting if direct vote prevails.

38. In two states suffrage begins at age 18; in one state at age 19; in four states at age 20. The zealous Federal Government would impose age limits for voting to apply to all states.

39. The direct vote necessitating the Federal Government conducting elections will bring highly centralized government into the states to prescribe the required residence in the state for suffrage.

40. The centralized government's necessity to conduct presidential elections within the states under the direct vote plan would be the forerunner of its conducting the elections for U. S. Senators, Governors, Congressmen, State Legislators, County Officials, Mayors and School Directors.

41. It would increase the size and centralization of the big Federal system and add to the power of the big city bosses.

42. The Constitutional Convention at which this miracle was fashioned opened May 14, 1787. A quorum of 7 states was attained on May 25, 1787.

43. On July 19, James Madison of Virginia declared that the substitution of electors for the direct vote in electing a President of the United States seemed likely to encounter fewest objections.

44. Madison continued, "It is a fundamental principle of free government that the Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers shall be separately exercised; it is equally so that they be independently exercised."

45. James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States and famous for originating the Monroe Doctrine which protected the Western Hemisphere from foreign aggression up to a few years ago, was one of the immortal founders who decided for the Republic of the United States of America to use an Electoral College system and not a direct vote in the election of Presidents. To abandon the Electoral College system instead of reforming it would be to abandon the principles of James Monroe today, just as the Monroe Doctrine was abandoned in permitting the setting up of the Communist dictator Fidel Castro.

46. The election of a President by direct vote would be tantamount to electing Senators and Representatives on a national basis rather than each State and District electing its own, and probably will eventually result in a nationwide election of Congressmen and Senators without regard for their place of residence.

47. Any delegate voting system is better than direct voting.

48. Members of Congress are delegates and electors for the people. The laws which members of Congress enact are far superior than if the people convened to enact them.

49. The direct vote in abolishing the Electoral College would elect the President without the states participating as individual entities.

50. It would result in a government without "maintaining our nation as a union of states" as requested in President Johnson's message to Congress, January 28, 1965.

51. In the current debate or reform, it should be remembered that the direct vote system of elections is far inferior to delegate voting.

52. None would feel safe in the choice of the Secretary of Defense or an Army Chief of Staff by direct vote.

53. In spite of the deep disappointment with the present Supreme Court, there has never been a time in the life of our Republic that the people would have tolerated choice of a Supreme Court Justice by the direct vote.

54. Members of the Catholic faith venerate their Pope who is elected by Cardinals serving as electors as effectively as presidential electors serve. The laity would never venerate a Pope who was elected by direct vote of the laity.

55. When the heads of Protestant denominations are selected, it would be impractical to try to elect them by a direct vote of the laity; and few of the members of any denomination would have confidence in a head of their denomination elected by direct vote.

56. Donors of great universities and the students attending them would have little confidence in a Chancellor or University President who was elected by their direct vote.

57. Nominating committees are nearly always employed in the selection of a President of large corporations and associations. These officers are no doubt better officials than if elected by the stockholders through "one man — one vote" suffrage.

58. Vermont, Delaware, and New Hampshire, all of which participated in the ratification of the Constitution, and a fourth state, Rhode Island, were never given an appointment to the Supreme Court bench until Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was appointed in 1845. This one appointment from these four States was the first and only one to the Supreme Court.

59. In transmitting the Constitution to the President of the Continental Congress, George Washington wrote in a letter of September 17, 1787: "It is obviously impractical in the Federal Government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all: Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest." In making this sacrifice everyone, regardless of where they live, should be treated as fairly as possible.

60. Direct vote would lead to big government. George Washington said, "Government, like fire, is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

61. More and more, students of government are realizing that the district electoral plan presented to the Constitutional Convention by James Wilson of Pennsylvania on June 2, 1787, is the best method by which the intentions of our forefathers to create a republic form of government in the United States can be realized and perpetuated. Now antiquated, the Electoral College system needs only to be wisely reformed, never abolished.

62. The Congressional District Plan, SJR ... and HJR ... for reform of the Electoral College system will help guarantee and perpetuate what our Founding Fathers sought to achieve.

63. The direct vote plan popularized with catch phrases would go a long way toward destroying their creation when they appear to the greatest students of government to have been "guided by Divine Providence." It was appraised by Gladstone a hundred years later as the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.

64. Nearly without exception the Founders feared the creation of a democracy, and the adoption of a direct vote now would confirm their fears.

65. To substitute the Electoral College system with the direct vote would be to abandon an important provision the Founding Fathers relied upon to establish

our nation as a Republic.

66. The Proportional Plan, which does have merit, unfortunately abolishes the Electoral College system, a vital part of our republic form of government which has nurtured the greatest nation on earth. The abolishment of the Electoral College system should not be toyed with in any way which is not needed in effecting a reform.

67. The Mundt Plan for districts to be formed to elect presidential electors equal to the number of Representatives in the Lower House from a Senate and two for each Senator, and the Lodge-Gossett Proportionate Resolution, both with good merit, have differed enough to nullify each other for many years, blocking much needed reform of the Electoral College system. Their supporters may now center on the Congressional District Plan (SJR ... and HJR ...) for a needed victory.

68. The direct vote does not have sufficient merit for it to win a replacement of the present antiquated Electoral College system, however much it needs reforming.

69. A great storm reduces materially the voter turnout in one or several states. Under direct voting, the weather could become more decisive in a Presidential election.

70. A power failure in one section of the country could likewise alter the outcome of a national election.

71. Under the Congressional District Plan nearly every state with 10 or more electors would give a part of its electoral vote to each of the major party candidates and break the big-population-state monopoly.

72. Members of State Legislatures are delegates elected by the people to make laws for their state. The I. Q. of these electors will average 10% higher than their electorate. They will be influential in elections for Congressmen and presidential electors.

73. Members of Congress will average a 10% higher I.Q. than state legislators, and with the District Plan, a Congressman would be very influential in the election of a presidential elector from his district.

74. Since the time element now precludes a ratification by the State Legislatures in time for the reform amendment to affect the 1968 presidential elections it has become a truly non-partisan issue, for none can say which of the major political parties might benefit most in 1972 from its enactment.

75. In a recent poll only 10% favored continuation of the Electoral College system in its present form. The time for action is now.

76. The direct popular vote proposals are co-sponsored by Senators from Vermont, North Dakota, Nevada, Montana, Maine and Idaho, lessening the voting power of their constituents drastically.

77. Eight of the original 13 states and 28 other states, 41 in all, have never had any of their citizens elected President.

78. The direct vote would result in the people of 35 States losing voting power, and 15 States gaining from both the present Electoral College system and from the Congressional District Plan if in effect.

79. It would take away much of the voting power from the states whose citizens suffer near disenfranchisement in presidential elections.

80. Judging from the population trend since the 1960 census the population increase in large population states is growing faster than the other states, and a projection to the 1970 census is even more awesome.

81. Highly populated States have predominated in having their citizens become U. S. Presidents. Twenty-two of the 32 Presidents who have been elected to office were from only four States.

82. The direct vote would result in a gain of voting power for California of 18%, for New York and Pennsylvania each a gain of 17%, for Illinois a gain of 16%, for Ohio and Michigan each a gain of 12%.

83. The direct vote plan would reduce the voting power of the people of Alaska down to 23% of their present voting strength; Nevada to 29%; Wyoming to 32%; Vermont to 39%; Delaware to 45%; and Hawaii and North Dakota each to 47%.

84. Under the Electoral College system a combination of many small states where calm thinking prevails could be the deciding factor in a candidate being elected President.

85. Under the direct vote plan small states would lose even this possibility. For example, in 1966 the combined plurality obtained by the Governors of New York and California exceeded the population of 24 of the individual states of the Union.

86. Reforming the Electoral College system of allocating votes protects small states and small groups and minorities.

87. The direct vote would utterly destroy the Electoral College system, an important tenet of the Founders of Freedom to make our government a Republic protecting minorities, and not a democracy, often ruled by the uncertain whims of a majority.

88. The election of electors by popular vote within Congressional Districts would enable every American to have a fair voice in the selection of the President of the United States, regardless of whether he lived in the municipality of a city, a suburb, town or rural area.

89. Under the direct vote plan, the premium for fraud would be greatly increased.

90. In times past Kansas City, Mo. and recently Chicago, Ill. have been noted regarding their questionable tallying of votes which decide the election of officials in those States. Greater harm would come from this practice being extended to the election of President through a direct vote.

91. When suspicions arise concerning the adequacy of poll watchers or the vote count in some states in a close national election, if the election was a direct vote there would be less assurance of its fairness and less chance of a correction of a fraudulent return of a vote than there would be in the election of the two presidential electors from each state.

92. There would be far more assurance of the integrity of an election for a presidential elector in a Congressional District, for the voters would be choosing from among candidates of their own or their neighbor's acquaintance and in many instances whom they know well.

93. With a direct nationwide vote, a question could arise, as sometimes it has in past State elections, regarding any ballot box among thousands in any country in the USA.

94. In some cases the validity of the total election returns have been questioned because of the votes for presidential electors in one or two States. In a direct vote this suspicion could arise as to any or all of the 50 States of the Union.

95. In the past 97 years, two other Presidents were elected with a minority of the popular vote — Benjamin Harrison and John F. Kennedy.

96. President John F. Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon Johnson might have been forced into a run-off election under some of the direct vote plans which are proposed.

97. The Congressional District Plan could truly be the application of the "one man — one vote" principle. When these districts become Electoral College Districts as well as Congressional Districts, the necessity for proper proportionment of districts to the total population of the Nation and the best deliniation of boundaries of these districts becomes two times more imperative than before.

98. The importance of the Districts for dual purposes would be cumulative, and as dual purpose districts they could become four times more important. Any artifice or misconstruction of these districts such as gerrymandering would no longer be tolerated by an aroused public.

99. The philosophies in dual purpose districts would be more bi-partisan and the residents would take increased pride in their Congressman as well as great pride in the presidential electors they had nominated and the presidential elector which they elect.

100. An ideal delegate (presidential elector) plan would be for voters in the precinct where they would be voting on elector candidates within their acquaintance, to elect a delegate elector from those in the precinct most familiar with and interested in the Executive Department. The elector from this precinct would meet in a conven-

tion with other Executive Department electors from other precincts within their Congressional Districts. This convention of electors would in turn elect an elector to the National Convention which would elect the President. In addition to this delegate there would be a duplicate delegate who would attend only to the choice of officials at each respective level. The same system could be employed in the Legislative Department and in the Judicial Department.

101. The Congressional District Plan, SJR and HJR is of highest merit. If an election ever resulted in a tie, which might be once in a thousand years, the election would be resolved by the House of Representatives by secret ballot.

102. The most populous states are continuing to increase in population rapidly. Unless the Electoral College system is reformed and the direct vote is not a reform, within a few years, 9, 8, or 7 states can completely dominate the election of the President and Vice-President. The voters from the other states are practically disenfranchised. Without reform, the manipulated vote prevalent in the mid-city section of large metropolises would be increasingly difficult to control. Suburbs where calmer views may prevail would often comprise a large part of a Electoral College district and their people's voice would be heard in the presidential race through their District Plan presidential elector.

103. A provision for a presidential elector from a Congressional District would add to the stature of presidential electors. It is likely that the outstanding theologian, educator, community leader, could be nominated and campaign for the office of presidential elector from his Congressional District.

104. The members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives will have studied in vain if they send a Constitutional Amendment to the state legislatures which the state legislatures will not confirm and it should be remembered that the members of the state legislatures have much higher I.Q.'s than the general electorate.

105. If the Congressional District Plan is not right, it should not be transmitted to the state legislatures nor confirmed. If it is right and the best solution for the reform of the Electoral College, every member of the Congress who supported it in sending it to the State legislatures can aspire to a higher office or more prestige in exercising the prerogatives of the office which he now occupies.

106. Of the portraits of the five Senate "immortals" on the wall of the Senate visiting room, only one, Taft, was elected by the direct vote method.

107. Only a select few of the public would have confidence in and feel comfortable with a Chief of Police who was elected by a direct vote.

108. It is agreed that Mayors elected by a City Council

deliver a better administration than Mayors elected by a direct vote.

109. Appointed officials, if not bureaucrats, serve better than those elected by the direct vote.

110. The President elected with a minority vote may be much better than a President who commanded a landslide majority in his election with friends delighting in telling him he received a "mandate."

111. A President can be elected over the opposition of 41 States. The direct vote would further penalize these 41 states in an election.

112. These states under the present system can be overridden by the 9 states containing very large cities and this is true under a direct vote, but could hardly be possible with the District Plan. Any few suburbs or small cities could break the pattern.

113. The Congressional District Plan (SJR and HJR), different from any other proposal, provides that in the event of death, disability or inability to act of any elector prior to completing his duties of office, a substitute who shall honor his pledge shall be designated by a standing committee of seven established for that purpose by the State Legislature.

114. SJR and HJR wisely originates the provision that in the event of the death of any candidate for President and Vice President during the election campaign, substitutions shall promptly be made by a committee of seven established for that purpose by the convention at which they were nominated.

115. It provides that in addition to the District of Columbia and other areas (with Puerto Rico the first area involved) to which suffrage may be extended, suffrage shall be treated in such manner as Congress may direct.

116. In the Soviet Union, China, and many Communist countries, the ruling elite is now wavering. Khrushchev's total loss of power overnight has disturbed them. The defection of Stalin's daughter to the free world seeking religious freedom makes their "liberation" system questionable.

117. Dictator Mao's resort to dependence on the Red Guard, many of whom are mere children, in order to maintain his domination indicates they are considering other types of government.

118. The extreme bitterness between Soviets and Chinese Reds was unexpected and a departure from the amicable meetings they have convened for the purpose of denouncing freedom as "imperialism." They may have been reading a model Constitution which has been translated into Mandarin and made available to them in quantity, printed and on radio.

119. Riots started by students in Indonesia and continued by long suffering anti-Communists where there was supposed to be none, have dethroned Sukarno who

was supported for years by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. Indonesia is another one of the series of unusual problems of the Communist world. Indonesia is another Communist mishap which establishes a fertile field wherein Republic U.S.A. with the best handling of its Electoral College system could win a bloodless victory.

120. The direct vote plan has too little merit and too many serious faults to win in the campaign to change the present Electoral College system. A poll would have shown a few months ago that 7 to 1 of the electorate wanted a change, but there has been a dearth of publicity, and members of Congress are becoming confused with the different changes under consideration. Time is of the essence, and action will be appreciated by the public.

121. A sensible and logical improvement in the Electoral College system will be a fine testimonial in favor of individual initiative and the Republic form of government as compared with dictatorship, Communists or otherwise directed.

122. SJR and HJR will build a strong two-party system in U.S.A. Communist countries take pride in their one-party system and the penalty for trying and failing to start a second party in their country would be a ghastly death. The desirability of the two-party system in the U.S.A. is recognized by 90% of its citizens, but is being lost by ineptness such as the failure to reform the Electoral College system within the framework of our Constitution. The Electoral College system must be reformed.

123. The members of our Armed Forces in South Vietnam deserve no less than the best we can do at home in maintaining our Republic against the onslaught of Communism directed at our Republic from throughout the world. Our heroes are giving their all. They suffer, bleed and die. We at home, whom they protect, must, in turn, give our best.

If you fail to agree with 3% of these 123 points as numbered, you may find in the other 97% sufficient merit to make you forgive the defection.

August 22, 1967

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Constructively,
H. L. HUNT
Dallas, Texas 75202

NOMINEES FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR COMMISSION (NPEC)

With the Congressional District Plan for Reform of the Electoral College System in force, all political parties should nominate the best available candidates, two from each state and one from each Congressional District, who could spend two or three days every four years to cast their vote for President and Vice President of the United States.

One hundred of the Presidential Electors are two from each of the 50 states. The District of Columbia has three. Under the Congressional District Plan 435 of the electors would be from Congressional Districts with an average population of 462,368. The qualifications and abilities of the candidates from Congressional Districts would be well known to the voters of their districts, and electors from the state at large would be as well or better known throughout the state as candidates for governor.

The Congressional District Plan will tend to distribute political action into two and at most three camps, rather than into many splinter parties which have proven to be disastrous in nations abroad. The members of the Nominees for Elector Commission would be confined to members of the three parties amassing the highest electoral college vote.

When Congressional Districts become Electoral College Districts as well, the necessity for proper apportionment becomes two times more imperative than before. The importance of the District for dual purposes would be cumulative and as dual purpose districts they could become four or more times more important. The Congressional District Plan could truly be the application of the "one man — one vote" requirement of Supreme Court rulings.

Any artifice or misconstruction of these districts in gerrymandering would be four times less likely to be tolerated by an aroused public. The residents and voters of the District would take increased pride in their Congressman as well as great pride in the Presidential Elector they had nominated for their party. It is likely that the outstanding theologian, educator, community leader and citizen could be nominated and would campaign for the office of Presidential Elector from his Congressional District and thereby become eligible in later years to serve our Republic as a member of NPEC.

Each District could take great pride in the Presidential Electors it had nominated. The high caliber of candidates for Electors would make them useful in a number of capacities both during and after the campaign. Great as the contribution made by the nominees for Electors before the general presidential elections, it could be even a greater contribution after the election.

The winners of the Electoral College could gracefully

join with the losing nominees of the three parties which commanded the highest number of presidential elector votes. To serve the best purposes of our Republic all of the nominees of the three leading parties which were successful in electing presidential electors could join to form a commission, official or non-official, to perform vitally needed services such as were performed by the two Herbert Hoover Commissions. The first Hoover Commission was authorized by the Republican 80th Congress (while Democrat Harry Truman was in the White House) and Hoover estimated a savings of \$7 billion per year as a result of the proposals adopted. Because of increased budgeting the \$7 billion then would likely be \$28 billion now. The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report estimated that 72% of the proposals were adopted.

The cost of operation of NPEC could be defrayed by congressional appropriation in the same manner as the two Hoover Commissions were financed, or could accept donations which would be tax exempt because of the non-partisan, non-profit status of NPEC. The Executive Committee could establish a small, efficient staff of salaried personnel. The stature of the Hoover Commissions is attested by their spending less than the total fund authorized, and doubtless NPEC would accomplish its objectives with equal frugality and would further cause economies in the increased present day billions in the operation of government.

The second Hoover Commission was authorized by the Republican 83rd Congress during President Eisenhower's Administration and Hoover estimated savings of \$3 billion a year upon completion of the work of the second commission. Because of increased budgeting the \$3 billion then would likely be \$12 billion now.

Ten years have passed since those estimates were made; 20 years since the work of the first Hoover Commission began. The jungle of federal bureaucracy has multiplied since then, even more than in the years before the two commissions went to work. The NPEC would have a major task in bringing order into the current chaos in a manner similar to the Hoover Commissions of the past.

Against the savings resulting from the second Hoover Commission's work, the average of \$1.4 million expense for its two-year task proved a fine investment for the taxpayer. The Commission returned \$83,000 to the Treasury on September 28, 1955, upon completing its reports.

Various committees are formed such as the Committee of One Million, but the members of these committees are promoting only a movement and are comprised of only those who choose to join them, while members of NPEC have been nominated by their party as a choice for presidential electors from their States and Congressional Districts and would thereby be of

greater stature and would command more influence with Members of Congress, and national, state and municipal administrations.

A wide range of eminently worthwhile activities would be open to NPEC. Nominees who had won their nominations in primaries could call attention to the virtues or faults of certain media in the communications field. The opinion of the commission might well foretell who would be the best prospects for presidential nomination in the next quadrennial election, thereby curtailing to some extent the emergence of dark-horses who necessarily are the product of current whims. These nominees could be outstanding educators, theologians and public affairs leaders who should not devote time to holding other public office. War heroes as great in the military field as General Grant and General Eisenhower would be accorded merit in statesmanship only after they had displayed knowledge of government and diplomacy as some generals do.

Nominees for Presidential Elector shall become an Honor Guard for Liberty. They can be useful, constructive and great during the election for which nominated and after fulfilling their duties and retiring as Electors they shall not retire from service to their country but continue in NPEC as promoters and guardians of a better way of life. The contemplation of a great unofficial Nominees of Presidential Elector Commission, NPEC, is fairly dependent upon an amendment to the U. S. Constitution, wherein each Congressional District shall elect one Elector corresponding to its one member in the House of Representatives, and each State shall elect two Electors at Large corresponding to its two U. S. Senators. It can be hoped that the 91st Congress will submit an amendment of this character to the State Legislatures soon.

NPEC members could write articles and appear on such television programs as "Meet the Press," "Capital Cloakroom," "Face the Nation," and "Issues and Answers" and might be a drawing card second only to the President, Vice President, President Pro Tem of the U. S. Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives. NPEC could name spokesmen for its membership in such fields as foreign affairs, agriculture, defense and other vital areas. The spokesman's published views would often carry more weight than the views of cabinet members.

The U. S. Supreme Court, if wrong, would be less supreme if making a series of decisions favorable to communists and other subversives which NPEC found obnoxious and unfavorable to the best interests of the continuation of the life of the Republic. Court or executive decisions from any source favorable to criminals may be deplored.

The Vacancy Committee could accept resignations and could also create vacancies for cause. The Appointive Committee could be on the lookout for eligible Elec-

for nominees who had not joined NPEC and would be highly desirable members.

The membership of NPEC would select their own Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer and Secretary. The three officers would serve as the Executive Committee of NPEC. The Executive Committee would prepare By-Laws and Amendments of By-Laws subject to acceptance or rejection of the members of NPEC.

A sensible and logical improvement in the Electoral College System will be a fine testimonial in favor of individual initiative and the Republic form of government, as compared with dictatorship, whether vicious or benign.

This is a most propitious time to persuade the Senate and House to enact the Congressional District Plan to reform the Electoral College because if they enact a weaker plan or the direct popular vote plan, which will fail of the requirements of ratification of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the State Legislatures, then we will have only what we now have, a sadly antiquated Electoral College Plan.

The most populous states continue to grow rapidly. Unless the Electoral College is soon reformed by means of the Congressional District Plan, within a few years nine, eight or seven states can completely dominate the nomination and election of the President and Vice President. The voters from the other 41, 42 or 43 states will be in effect disfranchised under the popular vote plan, which is not a reform at all.

Each Congressional District would have new prestige because of its double importance of electing a Congressman every two years and a Presidential Elector every four years. The voters in each District would be prompted to take double interest in the quality of candidates and in informing themselves about the vital issues to be decided.

The Congressional District Plan, coupled with the NPEC Plan, affords an avenue by which everyone so wishing could make a personal contribution to good government. If right, it provides a means for those supporting it to ask election to public office. For those already in office, from Constable up to the U. S. Senate, campaigning for the Congressional District Plan affords opportunity to earn and attain higher office.
January 28, 1969.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ACHIEVE THE
ENACTMENT AND RATIFICATION OF THE
BEST DISTRICT PLAN.

WEICH WRIGHT, SECRETARY

Feel free to reproduce and distribute in whole or in part the District Electoral College plan or rewrite and sign.

Order additional copies at the rate of 25¢, postpaid, from NPEC, 2700 First National Bank Building, Dallas, Texas 75202. Phone AC 214 RI 1-3563.

4 0
H. L. HUNT

Harold Lafayette Hunt was born about 30 years ago in Vandalia, Illinois. He has been reported to have a fifth grade education. In his early years he was employed as a cowhand in the Dakotas, a lumberjack in Arizona, and an unsuccessful cotton farmer in Arkansas. Hunt has been reported to have been a professional gambler years ago and it has been alleged that he operated prostitution activities in Arkansas in the past. In 1943 he was reported to be the operator of a private horse racing and gambling bookie establishment in his office in Dallas, Texas. By the time of World War II, Hunt was reported to be the largest independent petroleum producer in the world and it was said that he held more oil reserves than the Axis powers combined. He is reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in America. In 1953 it was alleged that he made a settlement of several million dollars with a woman who claimed to be his wife.

H. L. Hunt is well known in right-wing circles in the United States as the sponsor of a radio program, "Life Line." Hunt sponsored his own broadcasts on the program but primarily used it as a vehicle to express right-wing views. Hunt repeatedly considered himself a king maker and has endeavored to support the political aspirations of such individuals as General Douglas MacArthur, former Senator Joseph McCarthy and General Edwin Walker. (62-108867-4)

DS
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NOTE:

Hunt is a controversial Dallas oil millionaire who has fostered right-wing activity such as "Life Line" and others. Hunt wrote us on 2/27/63 furnishing material and the Director instructed, "No answer." (10/3/70) (62-108867-13)

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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

December 18, 1970

The attached write-up on Haroldson Lafayette Hunt and accompanying material were sent to the Director from H. L. Hunt, 1401 Elm Street, Dallas, Texas 75202.

Typewritten notations by Mr. Hunt along margin appear on last page of write-up.

MR. TOLSON _____
MR. SULLIVAN _____
MR. MOHR _____
MR. BISHOP *[initials]* _____
MR. BRENNAN, C.D. _____
MR. CALLAHAN _____
MR. CASPER _____
MR. CONRAD _____
MR. FELT _____
MR. GALE _____
MR. ROSEN _____
MR. TAVEL _____
MR. WALTERS _____
MR. SOYARS _____
MR. JONES _____
TELE. ROOM _____
MISS HOLMES _____
MRS. METCALF _____
MISS GANDY *[initials]* _____

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from*
[Redacted]

EX 105 REC-69

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DEC 22 1970

ENCLOSURE

56 DEC 30 1970

H. L. HUNT
1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

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□ Among millionaire—or billionaire—watchers, the speculation of who is the world's richest man usually dwells on two names, H. L. Hunt and J. Paul Getty. Getty modestly disclaims the championship, saying, "The corporations in which I own shares are very rich corporations. They (the corporations) hold the property. They control me. In terms of extraordinary independent wealth there is only one man, H. L. Hunt."

Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, 81, of Dallas won't offer any clues on his financial worth except to say playfully once in a while: "Some say I'm the richest man in the world. Some say I'm only second. That's what they say." Yet a member of his staff estimates Hunt's resources at about \$5 billion with an income of more than \$1 million a day.

During World War II, the Hunt Oil Co. produced more petroleum than Germany, Italy, Japan and the Axis satellites were able to produce together. Today he's still believed to be the world's leading independent producer of petroleum. He also owns cattle and other livestock by the tens of thousands. He admits that "at times I have been the world's biggest grower of papershell pecans, a not very profitable endeavor." In addition, Hunt owns much timberland, citrus groves (around 400,000 acres in Florida, for instance), canning factories and drug manufacturing firms.

Hunt's home is a replica of Mount Vernon, only several times larger than George Washington's plantation headquarters. He acquired the big house and ten acres on a rise over White Rock Lake as a \$67,000 bargain during the Depression. Except for his home which he has furnished lavishly, Hunt hasn't indulged himself in many luxuries. He drives old model cars and generally prides himself on frugality.

Hunt sometimes travels in the tourist or coach sections of airliners. About a year ago when his family finally bought a private jet the question was raised as to whether the plane would include a second-class cabin for Hunt. On trips he carries an old-fashioned valise, bound in heavy straps. This contains bottled mineral water from a spring on his resort ranch at Indian Hot Springs, located on a remote shore of the Rio Grande about 125 miles downstream from El Paso. Also, among other items sure to be in the valise are fresh loaves of bread—the only kind of bread he will eat—made from wheat grown in the mineral-rich soil of Deaf Smith County in the Texas Panhandle and milled in the backyard of the Hunt home in Dallas.

Once while driving with one of his lawyers through the East Texas oilfields in which he has a substantial interest and where he first became a millionaire, Hunt decided that he and his companion would have a watermelon for lunch.

Hunt stopped at a roadside stand where two grades of melons were offered, one group priced at 75 cents and the other at 50 cents. Hunt spent about 20 minutes haggling a farmer into selling a 75-cent melon for 50 cents. Then the multi-billionaire and his companion sat under a tree and

Continued



Worn chairs in H. L. Hunt's downtown Dallas office are evidence of the billionaire's devotion to frugality.

Hunt—continued

ate the warm watermelon with their pocket knives. "Your time is valuable," the lawyer said. "Why did you argue so long with that farmer over 25 cents?"

"I just hate to get skinned on any deal." was the reply.

There are many who say that Hunt carries his lunch to his downtown Dallas office in a brown paper sack. The truth is that the sack contains a few slices of the brown bread made from Deaf Smith County wheat and, as Hunt phrases it, "perhaps a few other simple items such as carrot cake." Hunt even takes his bread slices to inexpensive cafeterias where he usually has lunch. Sometimes he entertains visitors at noon-time by making instant soup in his office to go with the bread, topped off perhaps by some carrot cake for dessert.

For many years, Hunt's favorite cafeteria was in the Dallas YWCA building. In 1965, he moved his offices to the 50-story First National Bank building, out of walking distance of the Y. For a while he was unable to find an inexpensive place for lunch. Then he discovered he could slip without challenge into the bank employees' cafeteria where the food was good and, in his words, "not greasy."

Hunt has nine children from two marriages, with ages ranging from 18 to the 50s. He likes to be called Popey by the members of his family.

Son Lamar, founder of the American Football League and owner of the Kansas City Chiefs, is called Poor Boy, having earned the nickname when he was a student at Southern Methodist University.

Carrot cake and Panhandle wheat...

Lamar had been a good prep school footballer and was an exceptional punter. He was too light of weight and not fleet-footed enough for the SMU varsity, although he stayed on the squad for three years, showing himself to be very gritty in scrimmage. Once, during a practice session, he wound up twice in collision with the concrete curb of a cinder track, off the gridiron, after missing diving tackles. A first-string end, Williard Dewveall, later a star for the Chicago Bears, picked Lamar up after the second mishap and said, "Poor Boy, you should get Popey to cover that curb with foam rubber."

Two of Hunt's daughters, Helen and Swanee, once starred at an unusual autograph party for their father at a Dallas book store. The occasion was the publication of a strange book called "Alpaca," which Hunt wrote and had published by a firm which specializes in printing telephone books.

"Alpaca" was about a mythical country in which, among other advantages, persons who pay the highest taxes get more than one vote in elections. Helen and Swanee, both poised, good-looking blondes, sang in sweet, clear voices some lyrics they'd written to the tune of "Doggie in the Window":

"How much is that book in the window? The one that says all the smart things ...

I don't want a bunny or a kitty, I don't want a perron that will talk,

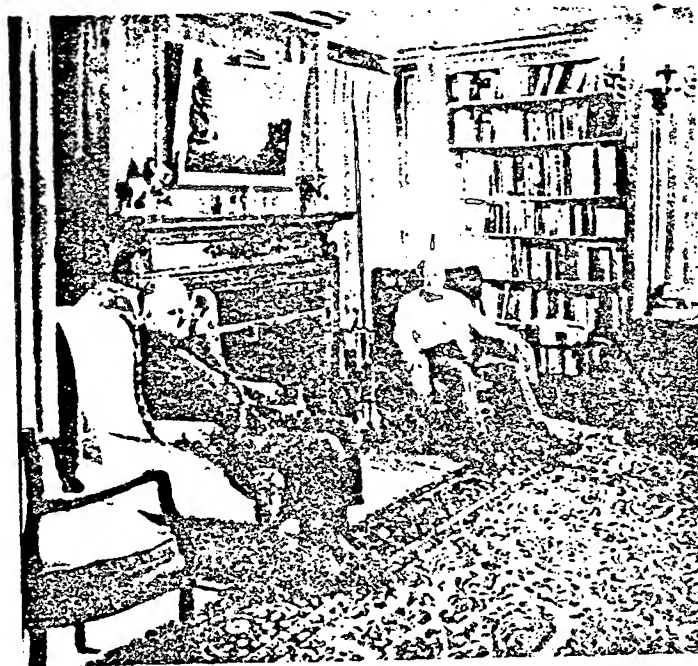
I don't want a book on little fishes, 'Alpaca' is Jack's new beanstalk.

How much is that book in the window? The one that Popey wrote."

On one occasion the Duke of Grafton, owner of ranches on two continents, was chatting about agriculture with Hunt, who interrupted the conversa-



At 81, Hunt still drives himself to work. In the paper bag on the seat next to him is his health-food lunch, including a few slices of bread made from Texas wheat.



Left: H. L. and son Lamar, right, join in the fun at the annual Dallas Bonehead Club Dinner. The younger Hunt, founder of the American Football League, is owner of the Kansas City Chiefs. Above: In the den of his Dallas home, Hunt sits in his favorite chair, a vibrator type, and chats with son H. L. Hunt III.

Hunt pulled for JFK, Lyndon

tion by asking the Britisher if he'd like a copy of "Alpaca." The Duke said yes, and after he was handed the book, Hunt said, "That'll be 50 cents please."

On his travels, Hunt carries no credit cards and he trusts himself with little cash. He sometimes runs into difficulties trying to cash modest personal checks. While on trips, Hunt often shows up uninvited at unusual gatherings. He has visited the National Square Dancers convention, for example, as well as a meeting of gasoline service station operators. In New York City some time ago, he crashed a reception for Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.

"I just wanted to see what the old sockwad looked like," said Hunt.

Hunt is a stooped 6-foot-1 and he usually weighs around 190 pounds. A halo of thinning white hair seems to float over a domed, round, pink face on which there is usually a shy, kindly, slightly puzzled expression. His eyes don't contribute to an otherwise benign appearance. Hunt's eyes, pale blue-green with tawny highlights, are shrewd and unafraid.

In the popular mind, H. L. Hunt is lined up with the radical right in politics. He's the devil incarnate not only to many liberals but also to some who style themselves political conservatives, such as William F. Buckley Jr. While it is true that Hunt often behaves like a character in an Ayn Rand novel, his voting record has some surprises. For example, in 1960 he was an enthusiastic supporter of John F. Kennedy for president, after he found that Lyndon Johnson had no chance of being nominated.

The cynical say that Hunt always supported the Kennedys (he showed some signs of being for Robert Kennedy, too) because he believed them to be actually, in his words, "false-front liberals." He felt the Kennedys' rhetoric kept the people happy, while the legislation they supported was for the most part not to his disliking.

He recalls he supported John Kennedy because, "I knew his father, Joseph Kennedy, leaned toward the constructive side and I thought John Kennedy might be a constructive president. Also, I'd never noticed any evidence of fiscal irresponsibility in the Kennedy family."

Hunt has tried to crash both Republican and Democratic national conventions. At the 1960 Democratic convention he had an aide send a memo to Lyndon Johnson, which read in part:

"Mr. Hunt believes strongly that if you do not get the top place you should seriously consider taking the vice-presidential nomination. The Democratic Party has no chance of winning unless you are on the ticket. You would name your successor as majority leader and would be presiding at some Senate sessions. You would not be the usual vice-president because with your standing in the Senate, and as long as Mr. Rayburn lives, you would be in control of Congress."

There were these postscripts: "The Kennedy people have been very active in seeking an audience with Mr. Hunt. He has not seen them as yet and has no plans to do so unless you ask him to, but he is in a position to get word to them about anything you might have in mind."

Then there was another note: "Later - since writing the above, Sarge Shriver arrived at Mr. Hunt's room - unannounced - and in the course

of their conversation he wondered if there was any possibility that you would accept the vice-presidential nomination in case Sen. Kennedy is nominated for president. He (Hunt) told him (Shriver) he was not in a position to say but would be happy to hear from them when they had anything definite to say."

Hunt loves games, especially games of chance. One of his recreations is stopping off in small towns and playing checkers with the local loungers. He likes the company of farmers. He claims "the healthiest thinking in this country today is done by people who operate medium-sized farms."

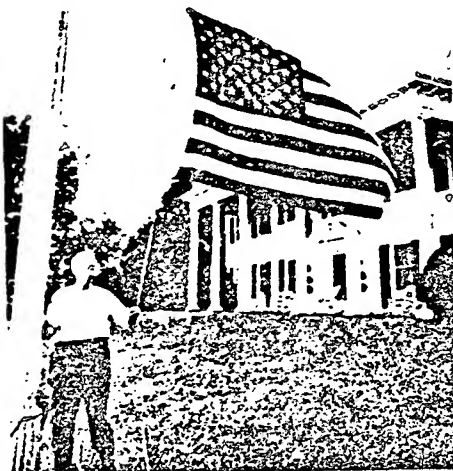
Are multi-millionaires he knows usually "healthy thinkers?" he was once asked. "Most very rich men I know are stupid in all phases except money-making," he said. "Some of the richest are spending money to wreck the republic. Some would like to be patriots but they don't know how."

He believes his appearance resembles the features of the late Herbert Hoover. Yet he says that this arch-Republican had little talent for the presidency. "He was no doubt a great engineer," is the way Hunt dismisses Hoover.

What about Richard Nixon? Hunt, who expects to be active in business until he is 120 years old and therefore anticipates many future presidencies, said only this of Nixon: "If he were to use the judgment of his constructive secretary, Roe Mary Wood, Nixon could be one of our greatest presidents. All I can say about him now is that he makes very unwise appointments."

Hunt has lived in Texas for 40 years, but he's not a native. He was born on a farm in Carson Township, Ill., in 1889, the youngest of eight children. His father, who came from Tennessee, had been a Confederate cavalryman as had H. L.'s grandfather. Hunt's mother, on the other hand, was the daughter of a Union Army chaplain. Rather amazingly, H. L.'s father, the former rebel, was elected sheriff, the first Republican to be elected to the office in Fayette County, Ill.

Hunt says he learned to read at age three. His family had always been in trouble financially,



Hunt personally attends to raising and lowering the American flag in front of his home.



Above: Hunt's home is modeled after George Washington's Mount Vernon - only larger. Right: H. L. listens to the radio while dining alone at home. Below: Hunt once stopped in the small town of Renner to take part in a checkers game - and as usual, he won.



Hunt — continued

Hunt gambled and won — and now he's holding the cash

though, and boyhood jobs caused him to miss school terms. He was 14 and a graduate of the fifth grade when he dropped out and wandered throughout the West for six years, working as a farmhand, lumberjack and cowboy.

During the Civil War, Hunt's father fought a battle at Ditch Bayou in Arkansas. When H. L. was a child, he had often heard his dad speak of the marvelous fertility of the land around Ditch Bayou. When he reached 21, H. L. used his savings — most of which was acquired through his gambling skills while a migratory worker — to buy a cotton farm around Ditch Bayou. At that time there was a collapse in land values. Yet Hunt continued to buy land, including a big timber tract in Louisiana and a large plantation for \$7000 into which the former owners had poured \$190,000 in improvements.

He got into the oil business by buying leases on credit around El Dorado, Ark., and then selling the leases at a profit, usually to major oil companies.

Finally, he drilled a real gusher near El Dorado. It wasn't until the early 1930s, though, that Hunt became a genuinely rich man. He was associated with the late Christopher M. (Dad) Joiner, a strange, Shakespeare-quoting wildcatter who brought in several big oilfields, including the discovery well of the Brobdignagian East Texas oilfield. (Dad Joiner eventually died broke. It is said that Hunt kept the cultured king of the wildcatters comfortably fixed in his declining years.)

Although Hunt had been a billionaire for many years, he never appeared in the press until 1948. Then, he told a reporter he'd avoided publicity because of "painful shyness."

In 1948, Hunt used to talk to reporters through a blue fog of cigar smoke. Since then he's given up cigars, but not for his health.

"I figured that I had wasted \$300,000 worth of my time annually taking the wrappers off cigars and lighting them," he said. ■



Among Hunt's favorite hobbies is raising deer in his backyard. He usually takes time after returning from work to feed his pets.



Hunt pays a visit to the bedroom of wife Ruth who at the time was recovering from a slight illness. The couple was married in 1957, two years after his first wife died.



Perhaps the world's richest man, Hunt goes to his office with his familiar sack lunch in hand.

Wild exaggeration. HLH

A Man of la Moola, Songsmith at Heart

By PETER COUTROS

At 81, life holds no more surprises for Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, who could be the richest man in America, give or take a few oil depletion allowances.

The man who has millions by the hundreds—someone once put his fortune in the jillions—came to town recently to attend a convention of the American Petroleum Institute at the New York Hilton. The lobby was redolent with the pungent aroma of money.

We found H. L. stashed in a 10th-floor suite, comfortably ensconced but hardly lazing amidst satin sheets. Three knocks on the door and an aide opened up to admit me. No frisking of clothes, no demand for identification. It turned out that it was easier to get in to see this Croesus from Texas than to approach a City Hall flunky. Amazing.

There was a time when Hunt regarded all attempts to interview him as incursions into his privacy. Like Howard Hughes, who is America's richest man if Hunt isn't, he is distrustful of the public. (Does it mean anything that Hughes and Hunt have the same first and last initials?)

"New York is nearly as bad as eastern Canada, too far to the left," he responded by way of explaining why he had ventured from the hotel only once during his stay in the city. And that was to visit his doctor.

So he sat there amid tables piled high with books, brochures, pamphlets and releases, all trumpeting the philosophy—political and otherwise—of the man himself, HLH. A television set near the wall groaned under the weight of bottles and jars containing cosmetics.

"Cleopatra used oils from the Aloe Vera plant as a teenager and she acquired this fierce beauty because of the fierce good health the oils gave her and she became queen of Egypt and captivated Julius Caesar and Marc Anthony," he explained. There was almost a studied carelessness in his dress. His brown jacket and blue trousers bore no relation to each other whatsoever, both being parts of other suits.

A clip-on bow tie held his collar snug at the neck. The button was missing from the right sleeve of his shirt, and he fussed at it all through our talk and the temptation was strong to ask him if his wife goofed. But there was nothing in his demeanor to suggest that Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, one of the world's richest men, would find the remark even slightly funny so we went on to talk of other things, turning inevitably to death and taxes.

"No, I don't think of death," he mused aloud. "I want to live as long as I can. I want to be on God's side. I believe in the tenets of the Christian religion."

"I want to go on living because I've enjoyed everything I've ever done, and I've done pretty near everything."

He let drop the hint that if he had to do it all over again, he would consider the life of the successful lyricist as most closely approximating his heart's desire.

Wheeling a request from his visitor (how does one say no to his host's offer of a song?), Hunt slid neatly into one of his master works. It's called "Just Plain Folks." It is all that the title suggests. Hunt managed it reasonably well, but the voice quavered just enough to suggest that, alas, there is at least one H. L. Hunt well that has



NEWS photo by Anthony Pescatore
One of nation's wealthiest men, H. L. Hunt, talking in his suite at the Hilton.

I have never distrusted the public.

The song opens up the magic sluices and Hunt encored with "Dear Little Kiddy." Its mellowing line went like this: "When we were sweethearts in the sweetest time of all..."

It is a bygone time that Hunt holds dearest to his memory and, as is the case with most oldsters, the zoom lens seems to focus more sharply on the joy and sorrows and adventures and misadventures of youth than on what happened the day before yesterday. The world is never going to be as good as it used to be; that's the credo of senior citizens.

Hunt's soft features wear a perpetual pink, his eyes are sharp and there is, in his bearing, the appearance of a man to whom healthfulness is next to godliness. He neither drinks nor smokes.

He has a rep as a poker player, but it has been ages since he dealt a hand. To a man who has gambled for millions every time he has drilled a hole in the ground, the quest for a royal flush loses some of its Holy Grail aspect.

He would have trouble sitting in on a poker game, anyway, since he rarely carries more than \$20 in his kick.

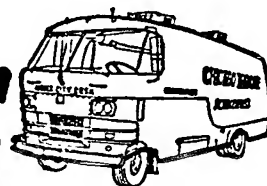
But what about all those millions, those jillions. Zillions?

"All that money doesn't mean anything to me," said the man who has so much of it. "It's just a simple form of bookkeeping."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

DECEMBER 2, 1970

► Action Express



Q.—Can you tell me how much H. L. Hunt is worth, what college he was graduated from and how I can get a letter to him? Also, what do his initials stand for?

F. D., Cicero

A.—Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, 81, believed by many to be



H. L. Hunt

one of the world's richest persons, is a grade school dropout. His parents often had trouble supporting him and their seven other children; so he missed several terms early in his school life to take jobs. After he had reached the age of 14 and completed the 5th grade, he finally dropped out of school permanently to work thruout the West as a farmhand and lumberjack. By the time Hunt was 21, he had saved enough to buy an Arkansas cotton farm. It was the first of many investments that laid the foundation for his gigantic financial empire, which includes businesses ranging from oil well operations to drug manufacturing companies.

Earlier this year, one of Hunt's staff members estimated Hunt is worth \$5 billion and has an income of more than \$1 million a day. Aside from business ventures, Hunt has invested heavily for years in projects to spread his view of patriotism. [Altho he's generally known as a "conservative" or "right winger," Hunt prefers to call himself "constructive."]

Hunt, born in Carson Township, Ill., has lived in Texas for 40 years. Send your letter to his office address: 1401 Elm St., Dallas.

Did not attend, so could not have dropped out.

HAROLDSON LAFAYETTE HUNT



He's a man of money, moderation and mystery--and if some like to think of the Texan as the world's richest man, it's all right with him . . .

62-108867-14X

Monday, Dec. 14, 1970, DALLAS TIMES HERALD

Naval Gap

The U.S. public is not being informed with any sense of urgency that Soviet Russia has 355 to 363 submarines, compared to the U.S. Navy's 141 and the Red Navy is driving for superiority in all the world's oceans. A hopeful sign for the future of Republic USA can be found in the fact that the figures are published in the New York Times, which in the past has not been noted for becoming alarmed about danger from Communists.

Vice Admiral H.G. Rickover warns that the Russians now have approximately the same number of nuclear-powered subs as the U.S. Navy. The Reds already have more missile subs than we do and within a couple of years will outnumber our 41 Polaris subs with newer types. The Russians will be able to sit beneath the waves 50 to 150 miles off-shore and effectively threaten complete destruction of the entire western hemisphere.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

The Times Herald continues to editorialize frequently about the need for U.S. naval superiority.—Ed.

ENCLOSURE

62-108867-14X

62-173375

H L H ALOE VERA COSMETICS

ALOE VERA has been famous for health and improved personal appearance for centuries. Some verses in the Bible mentioning aloes:

John 19 Verse 39 - "And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight."

Others: Numbers 24 Verse 6 - Proverbs 7 Verse 17
Song of Solomon 4 Verse 14 - Psalms 45 Verse 8

Cleopatra, when a teenager, used Aloe Vera and made it famous for health and beauty before she ascended the throne in Egypt 81 B.C. As queen she captivated Caesar and then Marc Antony, thereby molding history.

However good or bad were the individuals of those ancient times, they depended on the merits of Aloes of which ALOE VERA is the greatest.

HLH COSMETICS is famous for its success in processing Aloe Vera. HLH COSMETICS promotes the reputation of the better of the HLH Food and HLH Drug items by using patriotic media and messages in its constant battle with crime, communism and inflation.

Many strong advocates of Freedom versus slavery take pride and gladly prevail upon the management of the stores they like to stock HLH COSMETICS. These stores are finding that their stocking HLH COSMETICS brings in shoppers who might not otherwise have come to inspect their entire line and often purchase many items.

Aloe Vera, famous for health and improved personal appearance centuries ago, has been rediscovered and put to use in the best HLH COSMETICS for both men and women. HLH COSMETICS is famous for its success in processing Aloe Vera and probably excels all others in using this product of nature for the benefit of all. The new and expanding HLH COSMETICS "lines for men," face cream, hand cream, cold cream and shampoo, are great favorites.

HLH COSMETICS has a new line of products ... for MEN. The same high quality of ingredients have been blended by the HLH laboratories specifically for men, in a distinctively masculine style. From the HLH men's shampoo, to face cream, hand cream, and cold cream, you'll find just what you need to keep your skin invigorated and healthy, and to give yourself that well-groomed look that catches the feminine eye. HLH MEN'S COSMETICS are rich in Aloe Vera gel, nature's own miracle ingredient.

Soft, supple, beautiful skin has been the dream of every woman from the time of the Queen of the Nile to our present day Queen Customer. Cleopatra used the extract of the Aloe Vera plant as a beauty aid, and now this key ingredient of her beauty routine is available to you in HLH COSMETICS. HLH Hand and Body Lotion contains 70% Aloe Vera gel. It has been acclaimed by Hollywood's greatest beauties as the finest cosmetic they have ever used. Try HLH COSMETICS right away, and you'll see why Aloe Vera has been the beauty secret of the legendary queens, from the Nile to the Silver Screen.

Those who wish to form groups and cause stores to be introduced to the H L H Aloe Vera Cosmetic items may earn a commission for all sales to a store made through their contacts. The commission will be based upon the standard practice of H L H Cosmetics taken from its store price list. Groups may benefit their activities financially by causing such contacts and sales while benefiting the freedom side through spreading the freedom message.

ENCLOSURE

62-108867-14X

11-19-315-1

USERS ARE WHAT REALLY COUNT. WE NEED GOOD USERS WHO CAN TELL WHAT THESE PRODUCTS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED FOR THEM. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DESCRIBE AN ITEM OF GREAT MERIT, SUCH AS HLH ALOE VERA COSMETICS, IN AN AD.

PLEASE COPY THE FOLLOWING WHEN ORDERING:

Date _____

SOLD TO Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Special Instructions _____

How Shipped _____ Date Shipped _____ Shipped From _____ Purchase Order No. _____ Invoice Date _____ Invoice No. _____
Sales Tax No. _____ Telephone _____ Salesman _____ Customer No. _____ Terms _____ Approval: HLH _____ Deliver by _____ Retail _____

Description	Qty.	Price @	Amount	Description	Qty.	Price @	Amount
HLH AV Hand & Body Lotion	250014	5.00		MASCARA	270005		
HLH AV Hand Cream	251003	5.00		Black		2.50	
HLH AV Suntan Lotion	252004	5.00		Brown		2.50	
HLH AV Cold Cream	253002	5.00		EYE SHADOW STICK	270006		
HLH AV Night Cream	253003	5.00		Arctic White		2.00	
HLH Women's Mois.Crm.AV 50	254002	5.00		Caribbean Turquoise		2.00	
HLH AV Cleansing Cream	255003	5.00		Pacific Blue		2.00	
HLH Shampoo for Wom.AV-50	252012	4.00		Atlantic Green		2.00	
LIPSTICKS				Topaz Brown		2.00	
CREAM	270001			EYE SHADOW (CAKE)	270007		
Spanish Rose		2.00		Topaz Brown & Arctic White		3.00	
Papaya Peel		2.00		Pacific Blue & Arctic White		3.00	
Acapulco Red		2.00		Atlantic Green & Arctic White		3.00	
Daiquiri Pink		2.00		BRUSH ON BROW (CAKE) W/BRUSH	270010		
Tangerine Sherbet		2.00		Charcoal		2.50	
Pink Camellia		2.00		Brown		2.50	
Innocent Nude		2.00		Black		2.50	
Mauve		2.00		EYE LINER (CAKE) W/BRUSH	270011		
FROSTED	270002			Charcoal		3.00	
Spanish Rose		2.00		Brown		3.00	
Papaya Peel		2.00		Black		3.00	
Acapulco Red		2.00		HLH Facial Astringent	270012		
Daiquiri Pink		2.00		HLH Skin Freshner	270013		
Tangerine Sherbet		2.00		HLH Liquid Facial Masque	270014		
Pink Camellia		2.00		HLH Brenda Bath Oil	260816		
Innocent Nude		2.00		HLH Brenda AV Hand & Body Lotion	260716		
Mauve		2.00		HLH Brenda Cream Rinse	260316		
Alabaster Glace		2.00		HLH Brenda Hand & Body Lotion	260416		
BLUSH ON POWDER	270003			HLH Brenda Shampoo for Nor.Hair	260616		
Luscious Peach		2.50		HLH Brawn Cologne for Men	260004		
Innocent Pink		2.50		HLH Brawn After Shave Lotion	260104		
Tempting Tawny		2.50		HLH Men's Face Cream AV 50	252016		
FLUID MAKE UP	270004			HLH Men's Hand Cream AV 50	252017		
Ivory Beige		2.50		HLH Men's Moisturizing			
Beige Tan		2.50		Cream AV 50	252018		
Cream Tan		2.50		HLH Men's Shampoo AV 50	252019		
Ivory Blush		2.50		HLH Men's Cold Cream AV 50	252020		
Blush Tan		2.50		HLH Men's Hand & Body Lotion			
Ivory Cream		2.50		AV 50	252021		
HLH Translucent Loose				HLH Foot Powder AV 50	252022		
Face Powder	270008	2.50		HLH AV Gel (Pints)	250001		
HLH Translucent Pressed				HLH AV Gel (Quarts)	250002		
Powder (Compact)	270009	2.50		HLH Path Oil AV 50	260808		
				HLH Cream Rinse AV 50	260809		

ORDERED BY: _____

TOTAL INVOICE AMOUNT

\$ _____


PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL PRICES LISTED ARE RETAIL. DEALERS SHOULD WRITE OR CALL HLH COSMETICS FOR DEALER DISCOUNT.

DO-6
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

chp

MR. TOLSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MR. SULLIVAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MR. MOHR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MR. BISHOP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MR. BRENNAN, C.D.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MR. CALLAHAN	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. CASPER	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. CONRAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. FELT	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. GALE	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. ROSEN	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. TAVEL	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. WALTERS	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. SOYARS	<input type="checkbox"/>
MR. JONES	<input type="checkbox"/>
TELE. ROOM	<input type="checkbox"/>
MISS HOLMES	<input type="checkbox"/>
MRS. METCALF	<input type="checkbox"/>
MISS GANDY	<input type="checkbox"/>

fl


12/26/70

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I prefer this plan be given no publicity until the intended participants have received a printing of the attached which will be about Wednesday, December 30, 1970.

EX-112

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt


REC-39

62-109767-15

JAN 19 1971

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

no ack

(b)(6)

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter
Per FOIA Request

Philip J. Hershberg
7/11/75

55 JAN 28 1971

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 26, 1970

Dear Governor:

Should you not desire to participate in a plan with the Members of Congress shown on the attached list for a revision of our government which will insure the life of our Republic USA, please notify Mr. Charles Dickey, 7108 Arborcrest, Dallas, Texas 75232, Temporary Chairman of the Council of 11, Republic USA 1972 Plan.

You may give reasons for objections to anyone on this list who you believe should not be consulted.

The planners for Republic USA 1972 will be requested to not make public any preference for presidential possibilities prior to March 1, 1972, as such announcements could interfere with the wisest choice of a president for the USA.

A list of outstanding educators, outstanding military leaders and outstanding business executives will later be invited to participate in the implementation of the Republic USA 1972 plan.

I am happy to participate in the formation of a movement of this nature, but I shall not continue to lead it after it gets under way, nor will I urge the selection of any one to become permanent Chairman of the Council of Eleven.

Constructively,

H L Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLH:je
Encl.

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 26, 1970

Dear Senator:

Should you not desire to participate in a plan with the Members of Congress shown on the attached list for a revision of our government which will insure the life of our Republic USA, please notify Mr. Charles Dickey, 7108 Arborcrest, Dallas, Texas 75232, Temporary Chairman of the Council of 11, Republic USA 1972 Plan.

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Constructively,

H L Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLM:je
Encl.

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 26, 1970

Dear Congressman:

Should you not desire to participate in a plan with the Members of Congress shown on the attached list for a revision of our government which will insure the life of our Republic USA, please notify Mr. Charles Dickey, 7108 Arborcrest, Dallas, Texas 75232, Temporary Chairman of the Council of 11, Republic USA 1972 Plan.

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A list of outstanding educators, outstanding military leaders and outstanding business executives will later be invited to participate in the implementation of the Republic USA 1972 plan.

I am happy to participate in the formation of a movement of this nature, but I shall not continue to lead it after it gets under way, nor will I urge the selection of any one to become permanent Chairman of the Council of Eleven.

Constructively,

H L Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLH:je
Encl.

REPUBLIC USA 1972

Let us start a movement to formulate a plan for constitutional government which will endure.

The Soviets have uncovered facilities so great that they can become the leading nation in the world. Their dedication to their false cause cannot be surpassed, but true organization can be equalled and soon surpassed with the advocacy of truth and development of wisdom. The Soviets always attack. Hence, they can be defeated only by an organized opposition. Soviets love regimentation, and this creates for them an organized society willing to be ruled by the most powerful dictator in a dictatorship where the State is supreme and the individuals become slaves to the State.

Freedomists are individualistic and pride themselves for their individual initiative, but because they are individualistic, they deplore all forms of regimentation and fail to move in the most cohesive manner.

A Team of 7 can be organized to plan a form of government which shall endure. This plan must preserve and maintain our wonderful Republic which through the profit motive system has formulated the greatest liberties to the most people ever conceived. Now the task is to preserve and maintain Republic USA, and it can be maintained in freedom for the hard-core communists number a small fraction of the world's population. The non-communists outnumber the hard-core communists 10 to 1, and this potent and tremendous force when organized properly, can maintain our glorious Republic. Let us start with the Legislative Branch which can institute a form of government which can be properly implemented by a just and fine Judicial Branch and an Executive Branch (the head of which should be determined subsequent to March 1, 1972). The Executive Branch can take great pride in its accomplishments in enforcing the laws which the Legislative Branch has enacted and the Judicial Branch has approved. This may be termed Republic USA 1972.

The populace must learn to govern themselves and enforce law and order. This movement or plan should be maintained by a Council of 11, and this Council of 11, which may be termed the Supreme Council, be kept supreme only by the will of the other branches of government which they establish and since in the administration of good government, limited tenure of office is supreme, more government members of this Council should set the good example of retiring two by the end of 5 years, two by the end of 7 years, two by the end of 9 years and 5 by the end of 11 years, each upon retirement to be replaced by a successor who is known to be dedicated to USA 1972. Service on the Council shall not bar one from becoming again a member of the Council after a lapse of one year.

Many of the wise provisions of the Constitution of Alpaca, which is a stated plan for people to govern themselves may be helpful. Examples are the provision that the people will vote for officials only in the precinct and then elect a delegate to go to participate in a college of the Legislative Branch, another delegate to the Judicial Branch and the third delegate to go to a college which will carry forward the selection of the delegates to the Executive Branch.

Vacancies shall be promptly filled in all branches of USA 1972 and vacancies can be created by investigating committees for each branch. Alpaca was planned that the nation would be governed by the most able inhabitants of the nation, with provisions for the most able in each branch of government to meet in colleges or conventions whereby a government can be maintained with ability, and the welfare of the individual to be the supreme purpose of the written constitution under which the government would be ruled.

The trial by jury could be had by all and the juries would be staffed by elected jurors.

A college or institution of government wherein the greatest good for the best number would be constantly studied and each plan which might become a part of Republic USA 1972 would be frankly and freely discussed in depth as an important part of the curriculum studied in this college. The armaments and agencies of defense should be a constant study in this college for the benefit of the populace. The government must be conducted through the printed word and the rule through oratory kept to a minimum.

December 26, 1970

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS who today have been invited to participate in a plan for a coalition of Patriots in all parties to build a Republic USA which will prevent the Soviet Union from domination of all Nations.

SENATORS

ALABAMA	ACA	MAINE	ACA
James B. Allen (D)	87	Margaret C. Smith (R)	46
ALASKA		MARYLAND	
T. F. Stevens (R)	18	J. Glenn Beall, Jr. (R)	
ARIZONA		MASSACHUSETTS	
P. J. Fannin (R)	88	E. W. Brooke (R)	23
B. Goldwater (R)	97	MICHIGAN	
ARKANSAS		Robert P. Griffin (R)	54
J. L. McClellan (D)	71	MISSISSIPPI	
CALIFORNIA		John Stennis (D)	70
John V. Tunney (D)		James O. Eastland (D)	73
COLORADO		NEBRASKA	
Gordon Allott (R)	77	Roman Hruska (R)	93
P. H. Dominick (R)	79	Carl T. Curtis (R)	94
CONNECTICUT		NEVADA	
L P. Weicker, Jr. (R)		Alan Bible (D)	40
DELAWARE		NEW HAMPSHIRE	
W. V. Roth, Jr. (R)		Norris Cotton (R)	85
J. Caleb Boggs (R)	54	NEW YORK	
FLORIDA		James L. Buckley (C)	
E. J. Gurney (R)	88	NORTH CAROLINA	
GEORGIA		Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D)	64
R. B. Russell (D)	73	NORTH DAKOTA	
H. Talmadge (D)	63	Milton R. Young (R)	66
HAWAII		OHIO	
Hiram L. Fong (R)	41	Robert Taft, Jr. (R)	
IDAHO		W. B. Saxbe (R)	38
Len B. Jordan (R)	85	OKLAHOMA	
ILLINOIS		Henry Bellmon (R)	81
Charles H. Percy (R)	30	OREGON	
IOWA		Robert Packwood (R)	43
Jack Miller (R)	78	PENNSYLVANIA	
KANSAS		Hugh Scott (R)	42
J. B. Pearson (R)	64	SOUTH CAROLINA	
Robert Dole (R)	71	Strom Thurmond (R)	94
KENTUCKY		E. F. Hollings (D)	58
M. W. Cook (R)	53	SOUTH DAKOTA	
LOUISIANA		Karl Mundt (R)	79
Allen J. Ellender (D)	56		

SENATORS (Cont'd)

TENNESSEE	ACA
W. E. Brock 3d (R)	
H. H. Baker Jr. (R)	69
TEXAS	
John G. Tower (R)	95
UTAH	
W. F. Bennett (R)	86
VERMONT	
W. L. Prouty (R)	52
VIRGINIA	
Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (I)	82
WEST VIRGINIA	
Robert C. Byrd (D)	32
WYOMING	
Clifford P. Hansen (R)	87

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

ALABAMA	ACA
Jack Edwards, R	95
W. L. Dickinson, R	93
J. H. Buchanan, R	94
ARIZONA	
J. J. Rhodes, R	82
Sam Steiger, R	91
ARKANSAS	
W. B. Mills, D	38
J. P. Hammerschmidt, R	80
CALIFORNIA	
D. H. Clausen, R	78
B. L. Talcott, R	79
C. M. Teague, R	79
H. Allen Smith, R	96
Del Clawson, R	93
J. H. Rousselot, R	100
C. E. Wiggins, R	81
B. Goldwater, Jr., R	89
Bob Wilson, R	81
COLORADO	
D. G. Brotzman, R	73
CONNECTICUT	
Stewart McKinney, R	
DELAWARE	
Pierre DuPont 4th, R	
FLORIDA	
Louis Frey, R	91
J. A. Haley, D	92
J. H. Burke, R	96

GEORGIA	ACA
Ben Blackburn, R	92
IDAHO	
James McClure, R	89
ILLINOIS	
E. J. Derwinski, R	92
H. R. Collier, R	93
Phillip Crane, R	100
C. T. Reid, R	93
R. H. Michel, R	87
Paul Findley, R	85
INDIANA	
E. F. Landgrebe, R	94
John T. Myers, R	90
Roger H. Zion, R	88
D. W. Dennis, R	83
IOWA	
H. R. Gross, R	96
John Kyl, R	87
W. J. Scherle, R	95
KANSAS	
K. G. Sebelius, R	84
Larry Winn, Jr., R	81
Joe Skubitz, R	84
KENTUCKY	
M. G. Snyder, R	90
T. L. Carter, R	67
LOUISIANA	
Pat Caffery, D	89
J. Waggonner, Jr., D	83

CONGRESSMEN (Cont'd)

LOUISIANA (Cont'd) ACA
J. R. Farick, D 91
S. O. Long, D 84

MARYLAND
Rogers Morton, R 71
Lawrence Hogan, R 56

MASSACHUSETTS
Hastings Keith, R 63

MICHIGAN
E. Hutchinson, R 93
G. R. Ford, R 78
C. E. Chamberlain, R 80
E. A. Cederberg, R 85
W. S. Broomfield, R 64
J. H. McDonald, R 67

MINNESOTA
A. H. Quie, R 71
Ancher Nelsen, R 82
William Frenzel, R
J. M. Zwach, R 68

MISSISSIPPI
T. G. Abernethy, D 83
Charles Griffin, D 84
G. Montgomery, D 85
W. M. Colmer, D 84

MISSOURI
D. G. Hall, R 98

MONTANA
Richard Shoup, R

NEBRASKA
Dave Martin, R 92

NEW HAMPSHIRE
L. C. Wyman, R 81
J. C. Cleveland, R 79

NEW JERSEY
J. E. Hunt, R 89
P. Frelinghuysen, R 53

NEW MEXICO
Manuel Lujan, Jr., R 73

NEW YORK
J. R. Grover, Jr., R 72
C. J. King, R 89
R. C. McEwen, R 81
H. W. Robison, R 70
B. B. Conable, Jr., R 71

NORTH CAROLINA ACA
Wilmer Mizell, R 82
E. B. Ruth, R 86
C. R. Jonas, R 90
J. T. Broyhill, R 90

NORTH DAKOTA
Mark Andrews, R 59

OHIO
D. D. Clancy, R 95
W. M. McCulloch, R 80
C. J. Brown, Jr., R 80
J. E. Betts, R 95
C. E. Miller, R 83
S. L. Devine, R 96
C. P. Wylie, R 88
F. T. Bow, R 88
J. M. Ashbrook, R 98
W. E. Minshall, R 85

OKLAHOMA
Page Belcher, R 88
J. N. Camp, R 81

OREGON
Wendell Wyatt, R 67

PENNSYLVANIA
L. G. Williams, R 93
J. I. Whalley, R 78
E. D. Eshleman, R 85
H. T. Schneebeli, R 77
G. A. Goodling, R 92
A. W. Johnson, R 83

SOUTH CAROLINA
W. J. B. Dorn, D 74
J. R. Mann, D 69
J. L. McMillan, D 67

TENNESSEE
J. H. Quillen, R 92
J. J. Duncan, R 89
Dan Kuykendall, R 79

TEXAS
J. M. Collins, R 91
Earle Cabell, D 56
O. E. Teague, D 56
Omar Burleson, D 74
Robert Price, R 91
O. C. Fisher, D 79

UTAH
S. P. Lloyd, R 75

CONGRESSMEN (Cont'd)

VIRGINIA

	ACA
D. Satterfield 3rd, D	88
W. M. Abbitt, D	87
W. C. Daniel, D	86
R. H. Poff, R	95
W. L. Scott, R	94
W. C. Wampler, R	84
J. T. Broyhill, R	85

WASHINGTON

T. M. Pelly, R	72
----------------	----

WISCONSIN

V. W. Thomson, R	87
J. W. Byrnes, R	85
G. R. Davis, R	87

5-192889-19

Following the stock market crash on Oct. 29, 1929, and the resulting unemployment, H.L. Hunt, Dallas, Tex., 75202, reasoned that the best way to combat unemployment was to divide the necessary work among as many wage earners as practicable. Hunt attended local, state and national conventions of the two political parties, and talked to many leaders of both parties, hoping to cause one or both of the major party conventions to include in their platforms a plank for dividing the work required to be done among as many workers as possible. Hugo Black, then U.S. Senator from Alabama and later and still a Supreme Court Justice, introduced a bill for a flexible work week in the Senate, where it was readily brought to the floor and passed. For a technical reason, it was soon voted upon a second time and again passed the Senate by a large majority.

The House Ways and Means Committee approved the bill and The Rules Committee voted by a large majority for the House to debate and enact the Hugo Black Senate bill.

Before Congress could have proper time to act, President Franklin D. Roosevelt started a movement for the National Recovery Act. The NRA provided that the government would transact much of the business and completely dominate the rest of it. NRA supplanted and, in effect, killed the bill for a flexible work week, although NRA later was held to be unconstitutional. However, H.L. Hunt continued to advocate "Enforceable Legal Rights for Wage Earners" and still favors plans to permit workers, in time of depression, to get the necessary work divided among as many workers as can be made practical. During boom and inflation times resulting from a scarcity of commodities, the work week should be increased to get the work done. Seven of the last 12 books by H.L. Hunt advocate the flexible work week in some form. (Alpaca Revisited, page 176.) (Appended to "Pioneer in 'Work' Move" pamphlet article of January, 1933.)

August 31, 1970

H. L. HUNT COLUMN--#133
(Written and released, June 2, 1965)

LENGTH OF WORK WEEK

Following the depression which began in 1929, unemployment was high. In 1931 I was active drilling and equipping leases acquired through purchasing Dad Joiner's discovery property of the East Texas Field.

Work in rotary drilling was not arduous and it was good practice to keep a drilling rig running continuously. Drilling labor customarily worked in 12 hour shifts.

I conceived a plan to provide work for twice as many men by reducing the shifts to six hours, six days a week. Most of the major companies and other large employers in the oil field followed this example with five 8 hour days per week, which was easier to install and resulted in nearly as few hours per week. Other industries began putting the plan into effect.

Our personnel were glad to see employment extended to the idle and worked with increased efficiency.

With me the short work week was the positive cure for the depression, and I began campaigning for it with acquaintances in Congress and attending meetings of the leaders and conventions of both major political parties.

Senator Hugo Black (D-Ala.), who was a more constructive MC than present Supreme Court Justice, introduced a bill which passed the Senate. To meet some technicality it was passed the second time. The Ways and Means Committee reported the bill favorably which by precedent nearly insured its passage in the House of Representatives.

The Administration sidetracked the Black Bill in favor of the National Recovery Act (NRA), which gave the government close supervision of industry. NRA became the law June 16, 1933, creating many bureaus. NRA, but not the bureaus, was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of May 27, 1935. HLH

END

250 words

Monday, Dec. 14, 1970, DALLAS TIMES HERALD

Naval Gap

The U.S. public is not being informed with any sense of urgency that Soviet Russia has 355 to 363 submarines, compared to the U.S. Navy's 141 and the Red Navy is driving for superiority in all the world's oceans. A hopeful sign for the future of Republic USA can be found in the fact that the figures are published in the New York Times, which in the past has not been noted for becoming alarmed about danger from Communists.

Vice Admiral H.G. Rickover warns that the Russians now have approximately the same number of nuclear-powered subs as the U.S. Navy. The Reds already have more missile subs than we do and within a couple of years will outnumber our 41 Polaris subs with newer types. The Russians will be able to sit beneath the waves 50 to 150 miles off-shore and effectively threaten complete destruction of the entire western hemisphere.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

The Times Herald continues to editorialize frequently about the need for U.S. naval superiority.—Ed.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD. _____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. S. v. s.	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

H. L. HUNT
 1401 ELM STREET
 DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 23, 1970

TO RECIPIENT:

SUBSTITUTE YOUR USUAL NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION AND ACQUIRE A DEDICATION TO THE
 FREEDOM CAUSE TO PRESERVE OUR REPUBLIC FROM COMMUNISM, AN ENEMY WHICH ALWAYS
 ATTACKS. CONSTRUCTIVELY,

H. L. Hunt
 H. L. Hunt

EX-112

REC-39

JAN 19 1971

Deleted Copy Sent Philip Q. Hirschhorn
 by letter 7/11/75
 Per FOIA Request conts

no ack - former

[REDACTED]

(b)(6)

~~62 FEB 2 1971~~
 58 FEB 4 - 1971

December 17, 1970

PRESERVING REPUBLIC USA

Everyone, except communists, wants to do everything he can reasonably do to help. "Everyone" will include many "one persons." Each "one person" needs only to recognize his or her own importance in getting started to organize and save Republic USA, and thus the free world, before it is eternally too late. There is a "suggested course" which Friends of Freedom can pursue.

Each "one person" can cause some of his friends to prepare a Friends of Freedom list and ask others to join in a freedom movement. Each Friend of Freedom can associate with his or her other friends in preparing and circulating lists among Freedomists. Then the Truth-side will be organized and on its way to converting fellow travelers. Fellow travelers are not apathetic, but misinformed, and want to "get in on the act" even if on the wrong side. When converted to fellow travelers for Freedom, they can accomplish more than if they had been born to the faith. The communists state that one fellow traveler can accomplish ten times more than hard-core party members, who remain behind the scene guiding us to our destruction.

Let every fine "one person" who wants to do something get started, and everyone can create Freedom causes worthy of support which will preserve our Republic USA for the benefit of all.

Sincerely for Freedom,

Signature _____

62-108867-16
ENCLOSURE

MEMO TO PREPARE "FRIENDS OF FREEDOM" LISTS

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM lists enable patriots to keep track of each other. In preparing the "FRIENDS OF FREEDOM" sheets, ask friends and others to join in this Freedom movement. Some best names will be among:

1. Close friends
2. F.B.I. Agents
3. Former F.B.I. Agents
4. Sheriffs and other Peace Officers
5. Actors and actresses
6. Oil Field Royalty Owners
7. Speakers and Readers
8. Cattle Breeders, Ranchers, Veterinarians, Planters and Farmers
9. Hotel and Restaurant personnel
10. Members of State Legislatures
11. Federal, State, County and Municipal Officials
12. Geologists and Geophysicists
13. Owners of Cosmetic outlets
14. Marketers (Mkt)
15. Users (User)
16. Sunday School and other teachers
17. Choir members and other church personnel
18. Truck drivers who are entertained from midnight to 5 a.m. by Bill Mack and other deej. philosophers.
19. Barber and Beauty Shop Supply Houses
20. Members of Ethnic groups
21. Beauty Shop supply houses
22. Barber Shops
23. Members of Church Denominations least tolerant of Communism
24. Oil Field Equipment Supply Houses
25. College students
26. Salesmen
27. Members of the Medical Profession
28. Attorneys
29. Businessmen
30. Fishing and Hunting Groups
31. Secretaries and office workers
32. Oil Operators and Drillers
33. Store owners
34. Members of law enforcement
35. Members of Rotary, Kiwanis and similar service clubs
36. College Presidents and other faculty members, also special tutors.
37. Specialists trained to defeat the hallucinogenic drug menace
38. Parking lot attendants
39. _____
40. _____
41. _____
42. _____
43. _____

Please make suggestions for listing the category, class or location of FRIENDS OF FREEDOM who you think best to recommend. Tell those preparing lists of FRIENDS OF FREEDOM the designation, class or category you think best to recommend.

Please mail me any recommendations you wish to make to perpetuate the life of our gre Republic.

Please feel free to reproduce, re-write and sign and distribute, or distribute this m

62-108867
ENCLOSURE

H. L. Hunt
1401 Elm St.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION CAN BUILD A POLITICAL PARTY

It is too late not to redouble our efforts to save Republic USA. Plans should be implemented to convert one of the major political parties to the freedomist side or to build a Constructive party which would replace the weaker of the two major parties. Entrenched appointed government officials who cannot be fired by elected officers because of civil service laws, can do much harm to our constitutional system by sabotaging the policies of a newly elected party. Patriots can expect to face the power and wrath of a small but powerful group of these left-leaning entrenched appointed officials any time a constructive step to fight crime and communism is taken.

Concerned citizens, inspired by our Republic's achievements, often ask, "What can I, one person do?" They are recognizing, more than they once did, the value of our Republic and the freedoms and opportunities it provides for us all, even if we are in a minority. It is good to see the rising support for patriotism since the turn to the Right which I first noticed in November of 1967.

We who oppose communism and crime should encourage others who oppose communism and crime. Businessmen have been sold a clever socialist line that, "You must not make any display of patriotism; it will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers." None of these threats is true. Patriots and Freedom-enthusiasts understand that the sovereign U.S. consumer would walk another block or drive another mile to spend his money with an enterprise which believes in our Republic and delivers products of highest quality at budget prices.

Business enterprise in Republic USA finds itself at the crossroads of its very existence. Business, which means millions of individuals under our personal enterprise, individual initiative profit-motive system, must make a choice of following the wrong lane to its destruction and the destruction of our Republic or following the right lane to survival and new achievement.

The Truth-side is making gains but at the same time our enemies are becoming more subtle and clever. The enemies of Freedom regiment willingly, become well organized and therefore are effective. It is easy for them to organize, since they prefer discipline. Regimentation is required if dictators always despoil and enslave. Patriots pride themselves on individual initiative and object to regimentation. Patriots possess the finest qualities but their reluctance to organize causes them to be far less effective than they could be in public affairs education. Freedom-enthusiasts need to organize.

The battle to save our Republic is not yet won, but for those dedicated, seasoned patriots who fought so long almost alone, just a little more organized effort and joyful work could turn the hopeful rays of light we now see into a bright dawn. Now we can give those astute enough to ask what one person can do a counsel of action and joyful hope, rather than a counsel of despair. Those who love freedom, let it be said: "You are not alone."

Non-communists outnumber the hard-core communists by 17,000 to 1. We non-communists can win the safety of our Republic for the foreseeable future, if we will organize, go to work and get started. In September, 1968, Communist Party boss Gus Hall announced that he had 12,000 party members, and J. Edgar Hoover independently listed 12,000 hard-core communists in the U.S. Individual communists freely state that each fellow-traveler can do 10 times as much for their cause as a party member can, and no doubt feel that each fellow-traveler may be worth 100 times as much. Fellow-travelers may comprise as much as 2% of our population, but these mistaken people are not afflicted with fatal apathy. They want to "get in on the act," even if on the wrong side.

Ingenious patriots could convert many fellow-travelers. Converts make good troopers and may be more dedicated and accomplish vastly more than someone who has always been on the Truth-side, but apathetic about doing anything about it. As soon as a commendable "one person" accomplishes a conversion of a fellow-traveler, or an apathetic side-liner, to the Truth-side, his impact doubles and the lonely "one person" may become a part of a legion which is working wonders for the freedom cause. Now is the time to take up the joyous crusade against the menaces of crime, violence, corruption, and inflation.

Note: This memo could start and be followed as a non-partisan plan for the U.S. government to refuse to permit the Soviets to excel Republic USA in building armaments and weapons which they might use to overcome the United States of America.

This could be an example for people who want to prepare messages of about 800 words for friends who will appear on radio and at meetings; or excerpts may be taken out and used or additions made.

Constructively,

USERS ARE WHAT REALLY COUNT. WE NEED GOOD USERS WHO CAN TELL WHAT THESE PRODUCTS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED FOR THEM. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DESCRIBE AN ITEM OF GREAT MERIT, SUCH AS HLH ALOE VERA COSMETICS, IN AN AD.

PLEASE COPY THE FOLLOWING WHEN ORDERING:

Date _____

SOLD TO Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Special Instructions _____

How Shipped	Date Shipped	Shipped From	Purchase Order No.	Invoice Date	Invoice No.
Sales Tax No. _____	Customer No. _____	Remarks _____			
Telephone _____	Terms _____	_____			
Salesman _____	Approval: HLH _____	_____			
	Deliver by _____	_____			
	Retail _____	_____			
	Date _____	Retail _____			

Description	Qty.	Price @	Amount	Description	Qty.	Price @	Amount
HLH AV Hand & Body Lotion	250014	5.00		MASCARA	270005		
HLH AV Hand Cream	251003	5.00		Black		2.50	
HLH AV Suntan Lotion	252004	5.00		Brown		2.50	
HLH AV Cold Cream	253002	5.00		EYE SHADOW STICK	270006		
HLH AV Night Cream	253003	5.00		Arctic White		2.00	
HLH Women's Mois.Crm.AV 50	254002	5.00		Caribbean Turquoise		2.00	
HLH AV Cleansing Cream	255003	5.00		Pacific Blue		2.00	
HLH Shampoo for Wom.AV-50	252012	4.00		Atlantic Green		2.00	
LIPSTICKS				Topaz Brown		2.00	
CREAM	270001			EYE SHADOW (CAKE)	270007		
Spanish Rose		2.00		Topaz Brown & Arctic White		3.00	
Papaya Peel		2.00		Pacific Blue & Arctic White		3.00	
Acapulco Red		2.00		Atlantic Green & Arctic White		3.00	
Daiquiri Pink		2.00		BRUSH ON BROW (CAKE) W/BRUSH	270010		
Tangerine Sherbet		2.00		Charcoal		2.50	
Pink Camellia		2.00		Brown		2.50	
Innocent Nude		2.00		Black		2.50	
Mauve		2.00		EYE LINER (CAKE) W/BRUSH	270011		
FROSTED	270002			Charcoal		3.00	
Spanish Rose		2.00		Brown		3.00	
Papaya Peel		2.00		Black		3.00	
Acapulco Red		2.00		HLH Facial Astringent	270012		
Daiquiri Pink		2.00		HLH Skin Freshner	270013		
Tangerine Sherbet		2.00		HLH Liquid Facial Masque	270014		
Pink Camellia		2.00		HLH Brenda Bath Oil	260816		
Innocent Nude		2.00		HLH Brenda AV Hand & Body Lotion	260716		
Mauve		2.00		HLH Brenda Cream Rinse	260316		
Alabaster Glace		2.00		HLH Brenda Hand & Body Lotion	260416		
BLUSH ON POWDER	270003			HLH Brenda Shampoo for Nor.Hair	260616		
Luscious Peach		2.50		HLH Brawn Cologne for Men	260004		
Innocent Pink		2.50		HLH Brawn After Shave Lotion	260104		
Tempting Tawny		2.50		HLH Men's Face Cream AV 50	252016		
FLUID MAKE UP	270004			HLH Men's Hand Cream AV 50	252017		
Ivory Beige		2.50		HLH Men's Moisturizing			
Beige Tan		2.50		Cream AV 50	252018		
Cream Tan		2.50		HLH Men's Shampoo AV 50	252019		
Ivory Blush		2.50		HLH Men's Cold Cream AV 50	252020		
Blush Tan		2.50		HLH Men's Hand & Body Lotion			
Ivory Cream		2.50		AV 50	252021		
HLH Translucent Loose				HLH Foot Powder AV 50	252022		
Face Powder	270008			HLH AV Gel (Pints)	250001		
HLH Translucent Pressed				HLH AV Gel (Quarts)	250002		
Powder (Compact)	270009			HLH Path Oil AV 50	260808		
				HLH Cream Rinse AV 50	260809		

TOTAL INVOICE AMOUNT

ORDERED BY: _____

PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL PRICES LISTED ARE RETAIL. DEALERS SHOULD ASCERTAIN THE DEALER DISCOUNT. IF NECESSARY THEY MAY CALL OR WRITE HLH COSMETICS, 1401 Elm St., Dallas, Tex. 75202. A/c 214, 747-22

ENCLOSURE

H L H ALOE VERA COSMETICS

ALOE VERA has been famous for health and improved personal appearance for centuries. Some verses in the Bible mentioning aloes:

John 19 Verse 39 - "And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight."

Others: Numbers 24 Verse 6 - Proverbs 7 Verse 17
Song of Solomon 4 Verse 14 - Psalms 45 Verse 8

Cleopatra, when a teenager, used Aloe Vera and made it famous for health and beauty before she ascended the throne in Egypt 81 B.C. As queen she captivated Caesar and then Marc Antony, thereby molding history.

However good or bad were the individuals of those ancient times, they depended on the merits of Aloes of which ALOE VERA is the greatest.

HLH COSMETICS is famous for its success in processing Aloe Vera. HLH COSMETICS promotes the reputation of the better of the HLH Food and HLH Drug items by using patriotic media and messages in its constant battle with crime, communism and inflation.

Many strong advocates of Freedom versus slavery take pride and gladly prevail upon the management of the stores they like to stock HLH COSMETICS. These stores are finding that their stocking HLH COSMETICS brings in shoppers who might not otherwise have come to inspect their entire line and often purchase many items.

Aloe Vera, famous for health and improved personal appearance centuries ago, has been rediscovered and put to use in the best HLH COSMETICS for both men and women. HLH COSMETICS is famous for its success in processing Aloe Vera and probably excels all others in using this product of nature for the benefit of all. The new and expanding HLH COSMETICS "lines for men," face cream, hand cream, cold cream and shampoo, are great favorites.

HLH COSMETICS has a new line of products ... for MEN. The same high quality of ingredients have been blended by the HLH laboratories specifically for men, in a distinctively masculine style. From the HLH men's shampoo, to face cream, hand cream, and cold cream, you'll find just what you need to keep your skin invigorated and healthy, and to give yourself that well-groomed look that catches the feminine eye. HLH MEN'S COSMETICS are rich in Aloe Vera gel, nature's own miracle ingredient.

Soft, supple, beautiful skin has been the dream of every woman from the time of the Queen of the Nile to our present day Queen Customer. Cleopatra used the extract of the Aloe Vera plant as a beauty aid, and now this key ingredient of her beauty routine is available to you in HLH COSMETICS. HLH Hand and Body Lotion contains 70% Aloe Vera gel. It has been acclaimed by Hollywood's greatest beauties as the finest cosmetic they have ever used. Try HLH COSMETICS right away, and you'll see why Aloe Vera has been the beauty secret of the legendary queens, from the Nile to the Silver Screen.

Those who wish to form groups and cause stores to be introduced to the H L H Aloe Vera Cosmetic items may earn a commission for all sales to a store made through their contacts. The commission will be based upon the standard practice of H L H Cosmetics taken from its store price list. Groups may benefit their activities financially by causing such contacts and sales while benefiting the freedom side through spreading the freedom message.

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

November 9, 1970

DEAR FRIENDS: Please add your name with names and addresses of outlets which are marketing or
 have used HLH Aloe Vera Cosmetics. Withhold your phone number if you wish.

H. L. Hunt, Box 10773, Dallas, TX A/C 214 631-2210 or (Private) 741-3564

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

Mayflower Hotel Drug	1127 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.	347-3000
Washington Hilton Pharmacy	1919 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.	483-3000
Mrs. Jeane Dixon	1144 - 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.	338-7200
<i>H. L. Hunt</i>	1401 Elm Street, Dallas, Texas	826-2283
Hon. Gerald Ford	Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.	
Mr. Walter Tabaka	4614 Chase Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland	
Larry's Salon of Eloquence	1922 Strawberry Road, Pasadena, Texas	472-2443
American Health Foods	1015 N. Shepherd, Houston, Texas	869-6333
Summer Grove Pharmacy	2665 Summer Grove Drive, Shreveport, Louisiana	686-3650
Mr. Pat Ray	P. O. Box 183, Ada, Oklahoma	332-3460
Mr. Jimmy Karam	Jimmy Karam's Men's Store 305 Main Street, Little Rock, Arkansas	868-5575
<i>Walter Ward</i>	<i>923 Stillmeadow</i>	<i>FR 1-8552</i>
<i>Thelma Jones</i>	<i>2705 Pennington Spring Tx</i>	<i>BL 5-7607</i>
The Nutra Vita Health Foods	4340 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.	665-8776
Mrs. Joan Coleman	3812 Baltimore, Shreveport, Louisiana	865-7638
Leisure World Nutrition Mart	13952 Bay Blvd., Seal Beach, Calif.	431-6366
Mrs. Elizabeth Sinclair	1106 Potomac Drive, Houston, Texas	467-0169
<i>Charles Dickey</i>	<i>7108 Arborvitae Dallas</i>	<i>224-1184</i>
Naturway Nutrition Center	5217 Hazlebrook, Lakewood, California	531-1155
Mrs. Dorothy Langkop	5350 Wateka, Dallas, Texas	351-3125
Miss Ann Beauclair	c/o Holiday Inn # 8, Memphis Tennessee 38106	948-9005
Bryan's Corner Drug	Ada, Oklahoma	
Denton Center Hardware	522 W. University, Denton, Texas	

62-107767

ENCLOSURE

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE

Mrs. Helen Hamm	4907 De Loache, Dallas, Texas	
Sunshine Health Food	4908 E. 2nd, Long Beach, California	438-8483
Mr. Wendell Niles, Jr.	10357 Valley Spring Lane, N. Hollywood, California	
Turners Natural Foods	1218 Santa Monica Mall, Santa Monica, California	395-9804
Linda Lee Boston	1710 South 5th St #106 Waco 76706	
Agnes V. Boston	1867 Wellington Rd Los Angeles Ca 90019	
Bobbie D. Drake	5849C Sandhurst Dallas, Texas 75219	
Anna Adams	2008 Mt Pleasant Mesquite Texas	
Realife Nutrition Center #11	208 N. Cecil, Hobbs, New Mexico	
Holiday Health Foods	Holiday Village, Great Falls, Montana	453-5511
Stafo-Life	1415 W. Lexington, Independence, Missouri	
Burgins Nutritional Center	1650 E. 63rd Street, Kansas City, Missouri	
Raytown Natural Foods	6111 Blue Ridge Boulevard, Raytown, Missouri	
Jackson Health Service	1675 Smallwood Street, Jackson, Mississippi	
Mr. Robert Hunt, Jr.	Ramsey, Illinois	422-2011
Heritage Natural Food, Inc.	517 15th Street, Moline, Illinois	
Aloha Health Foods	1077 Ala Moana Center, Honolulu, Hawaii	
The Finishing Touch	P. O. Box 507, Lake Village, Arkansas	
Mrs. Edna Keppel	428 Sun Valley Road, Birmingham, Alabama	853-7208
Wood's General Store	Beryl, Utah	
Gene Anderson Department Store	212 South Main, Anderson, South Carolina	
Dr. Thomas Parker	110 South Calhoun St., Greenville, South Carolina	
Martindale's Health Foods	25 South 11th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	
Nutritional Food Center	1024 Classen Blvd., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	
John Cobb's Hillside Village Drug	410 Hillside Village, Dallas, Texas	
Tauschers Natural Food	512 Classen Blvd., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

DEAR FRIENDS: Please add your name and address with those of others which are marketing and with persons who have used HILH Aloe Vera Cosmetics. Give your phone number if you wish.
H. L. Hunt, Box 10773, Dallas, Tx. a/c 214 631-2210 or (Private) 741-3564

Use Black Ink.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

PASS ON TO ANOTHER WHEN YOU HAVE LISTED 5 OR MORE NAMES.

ROOM FOR ADDITIONAL NAMES ON REVERSE SIDE.

NOTE: This information is vital for friends and acquaintances who wish their friends to learn more and talk more about the HILH Aloe Vera Cosmetics. Others may be happy to prepare a similar memo. It is difficult to adequately describe a truly meritorious product in an ad.

Page -2-

In handwritten signature, etc. black ink reproduces best.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

PASS ON TO ANOTHER WHEN YOU HAVE LISTED 5 OR MORE NAMES.

Keep telling others the Freedom story and encourage the public to patronize businesses which

understand and advance the Freedom Dream; H. L. Hunt

6
23

H. L. HUNT
1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

March 17, 1971

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Sullivan ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Bishop ☒
Mr. Bremer ☒
Mr. Callahan ☒
Mr. Casper ☒
Mr. Conrad ☒
Mr. Dalbey ☒
Mr. Felt ☒
Mr. Gale ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tavel ☒
Mr. Walters ☒
Mr. Soyars ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

6
23

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Unbelievably, the majority of the anti-communists have quit. It is not a matter for the intimidated. Every time it will be up to substantial people like you to get them back in the saddle with renewed dedication.

I personally cannot find quite a lot of material that I had, or I can assure you that I would work with things like that better than any anti-communist.

It is nearly impossible to believe, but this has happened. We need to change their habits, and we have a crusade going here now to reinvigorate the freedom fighters. They think we were in the greatest danger a few years ago and have now slowed down, when in fact now is the most dangerous time we have ever been faced with and all should again become active in the fight to preserve freedom.

The reasons we are in the gravest danger ever are because of the Soviets' improved facilities and also they are doing a better job with the communist propaganda than they ever have. We even now know we have China to fear.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt
H. L. Hunt

HLH/jg
Encl.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX-100
REC-6

62 - 108867 - 17

2 MAR 19 1971

Deleted Copy Sent *Philip J. Harshbarger*
by Letter *7/11/75*
Per FOIA Request *rmh*

CORRESPONDENCE

53 APR 1 1971

China in Working Order Once Again

After 2 Years China Is in Working Order Again

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, Nov. 16—In 1967 and 1968 China was in the throes of such violence and disruption that it appeared to be on the verge of breaking apart after less than two decades of Communist rule.

A little more than two years later the vast country has been reassembled though it is not exactly the same, for some pieces are missing, some have been replaced and others are still away—but it is a working model.

Communist China, in short, has stabilized again after one of the most bizarre interludes in history, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was a revolution against the Communist party and governmental establishment carried out from within by Mao Tse-tung, the party Chairman.

As the old Government and party machinery collapsed under wholesale purges, responsibility for holding the country together fell upon the military. While the civilian party structure was destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, the party structure in the military has remained intact.

Political friction and lingering factionalism persist, but out of the turmoil has emerged a relatively viable structure, highly dependent on the military, albeit a military highly politicized. The

Government cadres, without whose expertise the country could not function.

As long as the armed forces remain united, as long as the 76-year-old Chairman Mao, supported by his designated successor, Vice Chairman Lin Biao, remains alive and alert, China seems likely to hold together. Premier Chou En-lai, the canny, competent administrator, can be expected to continue effective execution of policies both at home and abroad.

The object of Mr. Mao's campaign was to revitalize a system that he felt was becoming bureaucratic, permissive and pragmatic and to strengthen his own position by purging thousands of officials who were deemed to be insufficiently loyal or ideologically unreliable.

The chief victim was Liu Shao-chi, the head of state. In the process Mr. Lin, who is also Defense Minister, replaced Mr. Liu as Chairman Mao's deputy.

Today, emerging from long preoccupation with internal developments, Peking is actively mending its relations and asserting its influence abroad with considerable finesse.

Ambassadors have been sent back to 28 of the 40 missions from which mission chiefs were recalled in 1967 and 1968 to take part in the Cultural Revolution. New ground has been broken in the last month by establishing diplomatic relations with Canada, Italy and Equatorial Guinea.

There have also been strong indications that diplomatic relations with a number of other countries, including Chile, Belgium and Austria, are imma-

tending the long diplomatic boycott of Peking.

This new support, coming just before the annual debate on the China question in the United Nations General Assembly, has greatly enhanced Peking's standing, and it appears likely that, for the first time since the Assembly faced the question 21 years ago, Communist China will gain a majority this year.

Greeting to Russians

A bare majority will not be enough to expel Taiwan and seat Peking if, as in past years, the issue is declared an important matter, requiring a two-third vote.

Peking has not only shown a real interest in joining the United Nations but has also entered into several long-range aid programs, signed a number of new trade agreements, sent trade missions to Europe and kept Chinese officials busy receiving a stream of important visitors. Last week President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan of Pakistan was given one of the biggest welcomes ever accorded a chief of state.

Perhaps the most significant indication of the flexible diplomatic posture was the message of greetings sent by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers on the 53d anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The message expressed a desire for friendly and good-neighborly "normal state relations" with the Soviet Union and a willingness to settle outstanding issues.

The chief Chinese target now is the United States, whose policy of nonrecognition of Communist China is being rejected by more and more of its allies. Washington is depicted as being as beset by economic

Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans uniting in opposition to the Nixon Administration.

The great issue blocking an improvement in American-Chinese relations is Taiwan, which is held by the Chinese Nationalists. The United States recognizes the Nationalist Government as the legal government of China and is committed to the island's defense, obstructing Peking in its efforts to achieve one of its primary objectives, the "liberation" of Taiwan and the unification of China.

In the economic field, Communist China, making up for the dislocations caused by the Cultural Revolution, is expected to attain this year an economic level probably just above the peak year of 1966, when the Cultural Revolution began.

\$18.20 a Month in Factory

Peking has disclosed that plans for another five-year plan, to begin next year, are being drawn up. The primary emphasis is on agriculture, where techniques are being improved and bigger investments are being made in capital equipment, but industry, especially defense-related heavy industry, is not being neglected.

The average factory worker, after toiling long hours, earns the equivalent of \$18.20 a month, barely enough to support a family of two or three. Peasant families have an annual income of about \$100 a year.

A slight improvement in living standards has been reported because of increased harvests — they have been good for the ninth year in a row — but, with a population of 750 million increasing by 10 million annually, most of the new production is absorbed.

Industrial output is expected to show gains. New construction is seen in the cities, oil supplies seem adequate, manu-

facturing is operating at capacity.

Heavy emphasis has been put on self-reliance, and much publicity has been given to how old machinery has been made to operate beyond capacity and how new techniques and machines have been devised by workers, how rural communes have made their own trucks from scrap metal and cast-off motors and how hydroelectric plants are built with salvaged materials.

The improvement in the economy is reflected in a rise in foreign trade. Peking does not issue statistics, but it is estimated that two-way trade last year reached \$3.9-billion, about 5 per cent more than in 1968.

Slow Process of Rebuilding

The administrative structure, shattered by the Cultural Revolution, is being slowly rebuilt. A new Central Committee was elected at the ninth party congress in April, 1969. Since then a number of county-level party committees have been formed but no provincial ones.

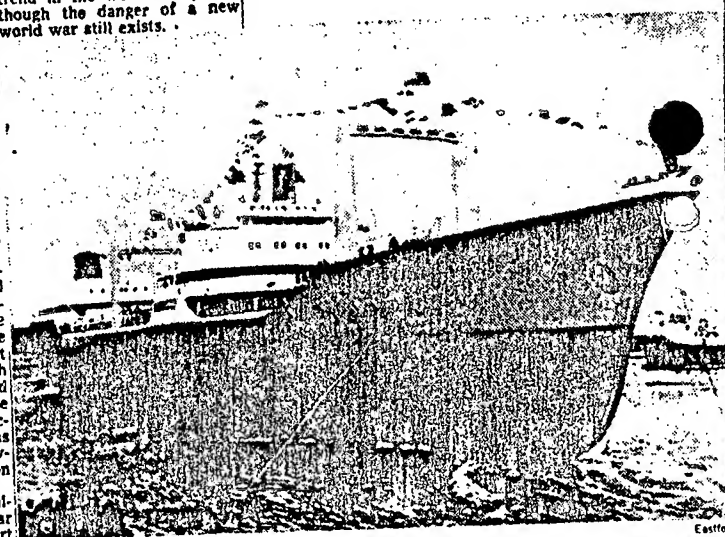
The governmental apparatus is also being revamped, with the State Council being streamlined by the abolition of several ministries.

One task remains outstanding: a meeting of the National People's Congress, constitutionally the highest organ of state authority. The main job of the new congress, which is almost two years overdue and which the Chinese have announced will be held at an "appropriate time," will be to give legal sanction to some of the actions taken during the Cultural Revolution, when little attention was paid to legal form.

In the military field, the Chinese continue to build a nuclear arsenal, to devote a major part of industrial output to armaments and to maintain one of the world's largest and most

China now has a nuclear arsenal of possibly a hundred atom bombs, is capable of making hydrogen bombs and is on the verge of testing intercontinental ballistic missiles. The nuclear weapons, conventional weapons and a vast fighting force — 2.8 million men in the regular armed forces, plus tens of millions of militiamen — add up to impressive power.

The constant call to "prepare for war" reflects the concern of Chinese leaders over the possibility that China may become embroiled with one of its two main enemies "U.S. imperialism" and "Soviet social-imperialism." However the Chinese believe, as Chairman Mao put it, that "revolution is the main trend in the world today" although the danger of a new world war still exists.



Launching of the Taching No. 27, described by Peking as the first 15,000-ton tank built with Chinese-made rolled steel. In the wake of the Cultural Revolution, China has been able to construct such a tank.



Men carrying sign that was displayed at National Day celebration in Peking last month. What Mao Tse-tung is trying to do is to create a new man, one who is selfless, disciplined, doggedly industrious and lacking in personal ambition.

While mending relations with the Russians and other Communist countries, Peking has made it clear that there will be no relaxation of its ideological vigilance. It continues to encourage splinter pro-Peking parties around the world, including Eastern Europe.

In addition, China gives strong support to the Communist-led forces in Indochina, applauds the violent tactics of the Palestinians in the Middle East and lends its support to Communist revolts against the

Governments of Thailand, Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia and India.

Although the Chinese give substantial material aid to revolutionary movements, their influence cannot be measured solely by the amount of aid. To a large extent they have captured the imagination of militant movements around the world, not only in the Middle East and Southeast Asia but in the United States as well.

On the domestic front, the draft of a new constitution,

made public by Nationalist intelligence sources, defines China as a "socialist state." The present Constitution, adopted in 1954, describes China as a "people's democratic state," that is, one that has not yet reached socialism.

Pre-eminence for Life Assured

The draft names Mr. Mao as chief of state, formally insuring his pre-eminence for life, and designates Mr. Lin as his successor. The new party constitution, adopted in April, 1969, named Mr. Mao the party Chair-

man and specified Mr. Lin as his successor.

Through this exaltation of himself and Mr. Lin, Mr. Mao, who is known to be seriously concerned about the course of the revolution after his demise, has succeeded in having his chosen successor formally acknowledged as such.

The pendulum swings in policy in the last four years, and the attendant purges, have thinned the ranks. The new trend toward institutionalization and stability has worked

inexorably against the radical left, identified particularly with Mr. Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, his long-time associate Chen Po-ta, and Kang Sheng, a member of the party's Politburo.

More and more of the radical leaders have disappeared from their posts. Hsieh Fu-chih, the Minister of Public Security, who was head of the ruling Revolutionary Committee for Peking, has not appeared in public since March. And Mr. Chen, who is on the five-man Standing Committee of the Politburo, was the only member absent from National Day celebrations on Oct. 1.

Most Top Leaders Are Old

Those who have risen dramatically during the Cultural Revolution include Huang Yung-sheng, now chief of staff of the armed forces, and Yao Wen-yuan, a party propagandist closely identified with Miss Chiang. Deputy Premier Li Hsien-nien has to a large extent assumed responsibility in the foreign-relations field; Chen Yi has not functioned as Foreign Minister for several years.

Although new figures have appeared in the second echelons of leadership, most of the top leaders are old. Mr. Lin is 63 and in poor health and Mr. Chou is 71.

One of Mr. Mao's reasons for launching the Cultural Revolution was to train and develop revolutionary successors who would continue his policies. One dilemma he faced was how to develop a generation that would be dedicated to his goals and to insure that they would not turn into bureaucrats or "revisionists" mindful of material comforts.

What Mr. Mao is trying to do is to create a new man, one who is selfless, disciplined, doggedly industrious and willing to live and die without thought of personal ambition. To a large extent the future of China depends on how well he succeeds in reforming human nature.

62-0088667-17

● The Soviet Naval Program ●

continued

By VICE ADMIRAL H. G. RICKOVER

The Soviets are embarked on a program which reveals a singular awareness of the importance of seapower, and an unmistakable resolve to become the most powerful maritime force in the world. They demonstrate a thorough understanding of the basic elements of seapower: knowledge of the seas, a strong modern merchant marine, and a powerful new navy.

Starting with 200 diesel-powered submarines at the end of World War II, most of which were obsolete, the Soviet Union embarked on the largest peacetime submarine construction program in history, producing over 570 modern submarines in 25 years—most designed for long-range operations. During the same period the United States built 106 submarines. In two years alone, 1955 and 1956, the Soviets completed 150 submarines, one and one half times the total number of submarines this country has produced in the past 25 years.

They now have the largest and most modern submarine building yards in the world, giving them several times the nuclear submarine construction capacity possessed by the United States.

They are credited with a nuclear submarine production capability of 20 ships a year on a single shift basis. They have the facilities to increase this rate of production considerably. At present, while our Poseidon conversions are going on, the maximum U.S. capacity to build nuclear submarines is less than half that of the Soviets. Upon completion of these conversions—about 1977—the best we could do would still be well below their capacity.

According to the latest unclassified data the Soviets now have a total of 355 to 363 submarines, all built since World War II. Anywhere from 75 to 83 of these are nuclear-powered. The total U.S. force is 141 submarines, 88 nuclear-powered, the remainder diesel-powered. Most of our diesel units are of World War II vintage.

Today, as a result of the Soviets' large-scale construction program, our lead in nuclear-powered submarines is rapidly disappearing. Based on current force levels and estimated Soviet nuclear submarine building rates, they will be ahead of us numerically before the end of this year.

Of even greater concern than total numbers is the fact that since 1968 the Soviets have introduced several new designs besides converting older

designs to improve their capabilities.

One of their current new designs is the Yankee Class nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarine introduced in 1968. These submarines look very much like our Ethan Allen Class—our latest Polaris type—and are capable of submerged launching of 16 ballistic missiles with a range of over 1,000 miles.

They now have 13 of the Yankee Class in operation; additional units are under construction at a rate of about 12 a year. It is estimated that they will surpass our Polaris fleet of 41 by 1973 or 1974, possibly sooner. Further, it must not be forgotten that the Soviets also have over 30 conventional and nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarines of the earlier design. Thus, we are faced with the imminent loss of our lead in numbers of sea-based strategic missiles.

The Soviet submarine force, like the entire Soviet Navy, has become capable of sustained open-ocean operations and is being used to support foreign policy in various areas of the world. In 1969 the tempo of worldwide Soviet submarine operations was at an all time high. This tempo has continued to increase in 1970. During recent naval maneuvers a large number of nuclear submarines were deployed in two oceans and nine seas.

The Russians are in the Mediterranean. They operate regularly and continually in the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Sea. Russian naval units now are being seen with regularity in the Indian Ocean and off both coasts of Africa. They are in the Pacific, the Arctic, and the Antarctic. The swimming Russian bear is not

yet ten feet tall, but he is 5 feet, 8 inches, and growing rapidly. He has not yet wrested supremacy of the seas from the free world but he is making a determined effort to do so.

Throughout our history the waters that wash our shores have been friendly. They have given us geographical protection, making it practically impossible for anyone to attack us. They have also given us time to build up our strength when danger threatened.

But the tempo of modern technology has changed all this.

Yankee Class submarines off each coast can blanket practically the entire United States. When the Soviets have the 3,000-mile missile they are presently developing they will be able to do this from either ocean.

Let me first say that based on the best evidence available, I believe that today our Polaris submarines are safe from a massive, neutralizing blow. Further, I am not aware of any valid information indicating that the Soviets possess a means to track and destroy our Polaris submarines while they are on station. However, there is no assurance that this situation will prevail for long.

Given the recent Soviet progress in undersea warfare and the sheer magnitude of their nuclear submarine program, the conclusion is inevitable, that unless we are willing to match their effort, they will surpass us in this field during the 1970's.

These are excerpts from a recent speech by Vice Admiral H. G. Rickover, the father of the U.S. nuclear submarine program.

Mao and Moscow's Navy

Although Mao has recently called for the development of the Chinese Navy into a force at least able to defend the coastal lines of shipping communications and the coast itself against attack, the Chinese Navy is at present so weak as to be virtually helpless in face of an attack by the Soviet Pacific Fleet. Accordingly the coverage given to Soviet Navy Day this year in the Soviet Party newspaper Pravda can scarcely be interpreted otherwise than as a subtle reminder to Mao and Chou that they are virtually defenseless and open to Soviet assault and invasion by sea at any point. . . .

The signs are twofold. In the first place, the issue of Pravda on Navy Day was not only sent from a special Pravda correspondent assigned to the Pacific Fleet, it also concerned the anti-submarine warfare capabilities of that fleet. . . .

The second sign was simply that the Pravda of the day after Navy Day, in a front-page presentation of reports from each of the four Soviet fleets, carried the fleets out of any customary order to give the Pacific Fleet pride of place. —From a Radio Liberty report.

11-698801-29

The Indian Ocean—A Soviet Sea?

By T. B. MILLAR

CANBERRA—The Public Accounts Committee of the Australian Parliament has been examining witnesses over a budget allocation for the first stage of a naval base facility at Cockburn Sound near Perth on the West coast of this three-million-square-mile continent. A pacifist geologist solemnly raised with the Committee the question of pollution, while a senior naval officer justified the allocation partly in terms of the growing Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean area.

A prominent East European visitor said here recently that there are two basic reasons why the Soviet Navy is in the Indian Ocean: (1) there is a Soviet Navy, and (2) there is an Indian Ocean. However sophisticated this may or may not be as a rationale, it does not go very far towards clarifying Soviet objectives.

Although it has occasioned a good deal of comment, some highly exaggerated, the Soviet Navy has not yet been out in strength in the Indian Ocean. According to reports, the number of surface ships has been as low as two or three in the whole ocean at any time, or as high as twenty-five or thirty. Submarines of course are less easily counted. The significance of the Soviet vessels lies less in their quantity than in their novelty, in the fact that they have so little competition, and in their being part of a collection or pattern of Soviet activities, strategic, political and economic.

Over the past few years, the Soviet Union has become the principal supplier of arms to nine countries on the Indian Ocean periphery. Through aid to harbour development, it has obtained access to ports and dockyard facilities in places such as Mogadishu

and Berbera (Somalia), Hodeida (Yemen), Aden, and Vishakapatnam (India), and to a lesser extent to other key ports such as Mauritius, Singapore, and Port Blair in the Andamans. It has forced its way into the shipping organizations trading between Europe and the Far East and Australia. It is engaged in extensive hydrographic, oceanographic and maritime intelligence activities. It is erecting some kind of military facilities on the island of Socotra at the entrance to the Gulf of Aden (the London Times reported them to be a naval radio station and an ammunition depot).

No one has publicly objected to these developments. The impression one has in Australia is that the U. S. Navy would like to engage in some competitive appearances well beyond the Polaris program, but neither the State Department nor the White House sees that a major American interest would be so served.

The British Conservative Government is going to keep small naval and other forces in Malaysia and Singapore and perhaps the Gulf for a few years more. These will be local rather than oceanic. It would like South African co-operation in the southwest of the ocean but may be finding the stated price—arms supplies—a hotter potato than it had realized. Japan has a growing trade across the ocean, and almost all its oil comes from the Middle East through the Malacca Strait; but neither the public mood nor the defense vote is such as to provide protection so far from home. France has its Somaliland, Réunion, and other islands, but no major strategic interest in the area.

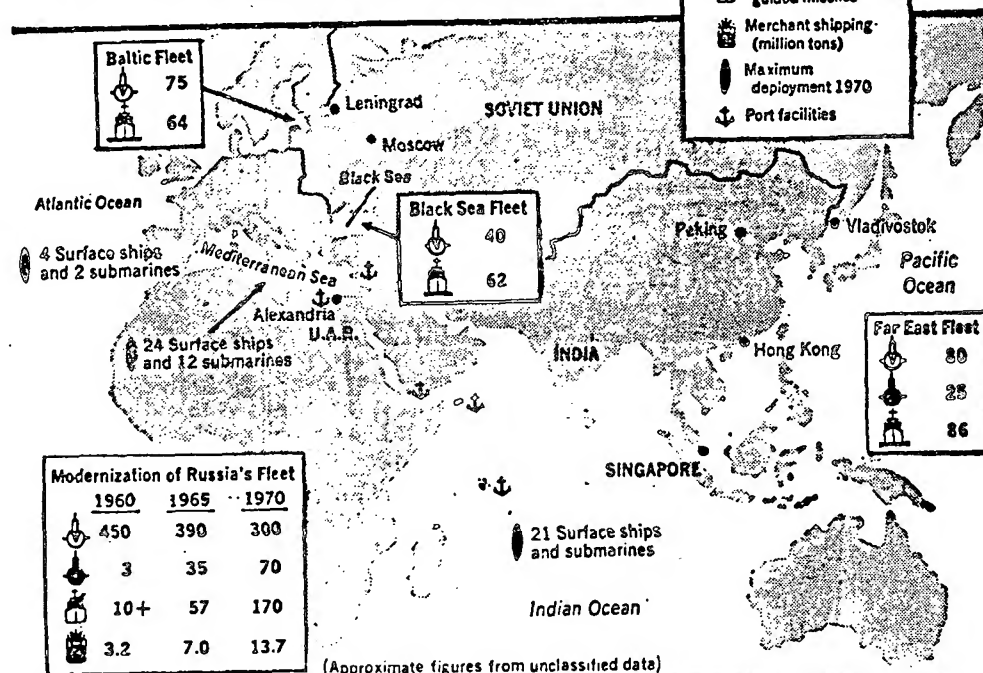
Of the peripheral countries, only India and Australia have navies of any size. India is too dependent on Soviet arms aid and Australia is too small

to protest effectively against Soviet activities which are in any case quite legitimate and pose no apparent threat as yet to anyone. Only if Australia had some support from the U. S. or Britain could it demonstrate local superiority against Soviet incursions into its waters.

Some commentators believe the Russians are in the Indian Ocean to promote the containment of China. This seems too simple, and at best provides but part of the answer, most relevantly with respect to India and Pakistan. The Chinese have a foothold in Tanzania and are irritatingly active among Palestinian and other Arab guerrillas, but China is far from being an Indian Ocean power. To dominate the Suez passage; to have a major influence in the oil-producing states; to be able to exert political pressure, with modest military backing, at key points during times of decision; and to trade profitably—these are the Soviet Union's apparent intentions, or the likely effects of their endeavors.

Do they matter? They do, if you live in the area, are a small state, and see no evidence that any major power is interested in either verbal or practical restraint upon the Soviet Union's undeclared but increasing ambitions.

T. B. Millar is Director of the Australian Institute of International Affairs.



H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

March 31, 1971

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Dalbey	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. D.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The hour is late and nearly every man, woman, and teenager would like to make their contribution toward saving Republic USA. If you are concerned, please use the tape of this sermon and this address where it may best advance your convictions.

In addition to whatever you could do to assure the life of our Republic, get this tape into the possession of people who like to do things and like to get things done, however high or low their station in life. Examples can be members of legislative bodies, Governors and other state officials and Sheriffs and other law enforcement officers who deplore hallucinating drugs and other drugs which are a liability to the constructive components of society. It is a foolish optimist who does not realize the hour is late and can become "too late." Should you fear boring those you have helped reach, let us hope that communists and pro-communists will disapprove and thereby be most bored.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt
H. L. Hunt

ated Copy Sent *Philip J. Hurst*
Letter *7/11/75*
for FOIA Request

HLH:ww

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

Detached in
D.O. 4-5-71

ST-113

REC 99

Taken by me
4/12/71
referred

APR 13 1971

Mr. Hunt encloses a tape of addresses given on 3/18/71 by Dr. W. A. Criswell, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Dallas, Texas. Side 1 -- "Drunk Kings." Side 2 - "Drug Addiction is Spelled DEATH."

APR 5 1971

50 APR 21 1971

DO NOT DETACH

No acknowledgment necessary. Hunt is a controversial Dallas oil millionaire who has fostered right-wing activities such as "Life Line" and "Facts Forum." Hunt wrote us on 2/27/68, furnishing material and Director instructed, "No answer."

File: 62-108867
[REDACTED]

(b)(6)

File [REDACTED]

18

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Brennan CD ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Dalbey ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Walters ✓
Mr. Soyars ✓
Mr. Beaver ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

June 11, 1971

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It is considered advisable to locate a strong freedom supporter in each small state and two such persons in each large state to join in a movement designed to overcome the Soviets' military superiority.

Another purpose of this movement is to try to get the Republicans to nominate the greatest freedomist they can command for Republican nomination for President in 1972.

We will keep you advised regarding the membership, and if we get any member on the team for this movement whom we should not use we would like for you to let us know as soon as possible. A letter of similar nature to this is being sent to Mr. Robert E. Lee.

With best regards,

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt
H. L. Hunt

HLH:gd

ST-113

REC- 28

Deleted Copy Sent *Philip J. Hirschke*
by Letter *7/11/75*
Per FOIA Request

62-108867-19
JUN 17 1971

XP-PROG.
JUN 14 1971
70 JUN 23 1971

(b)(6)

NO alt administrative
See 62-108867

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ST
A EX-101

October 28, 1971

REC 31

~~100-193315-7~~
62-108867-19X

Mr. J. Gordon Shanklin
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Dallas, Texas

Dear Shanklin:

I have received your letters of October 21st and 22nd and the enclosures concerning the current activities of Mr. H. L. Hunt. Your interest in furnishing me this information is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones (detached)

(4)
[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Tolson _____
Felt _____
Rosen _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Miller, E.S. *✓*
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Cleveland _____
Ponder _____
Bates _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 7
OCT 28 1971
FBI

57 NOV 23 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 111-424-

Room 200, Mercantile Continental Bldg.
Dallas, Texas 75201

PERSONAL

October 22, 1971

Mr. Tolson	/
Mr. Felt	/
Mr. Rosen	/
Mr. Mohr	/
Mr. Bishop	/
Mr. Miller	ES
Mr. Callahan	/
Mr. Casper	/
Mr. Conrad	/
Mr. Dalbey	/
Mr. Cleveland	/
Mr. Ponder	/
Mr. Bates	/
Mr. Tavel	/
Mr. Walters	/
Mr. Soyars	/
Tele. Room	/
Miss Holmes	/
Miss Gandy	/

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Reference is made to my letter to you of October 21, 1971 concerning a call I had from H. L. Hunt, who indicated that he was putting on a campaign to have Presidential Advisor Dr. Henry A. Kissinger dismissed. I received in today's mail the attached note from Hunt with the clippings which are being forwarded to you.

Enclosures 5

Sincerely,

J. Gordon Shanklin
SAC J. Gordon Shanklin
Dallas

EX-101

REC 31

62-108867-14X18
100-193315-8

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

ENCLOSURE

5 NOV 15 1971

(b)(6)

EXP. PROC.

30 OCT 26 1971

57 NOV 23 1971

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 101-424

1971 October 219

The opposite side of a sheet "Dismiss Kissinger," is a slogan which will accompany the most complete record we have or can compile to assist attorneys and peace officers to evaluate Kissinger. This record will be mailed in each state to Presidents of Sheriff's Associations, Attorney Generals, and Chairmen of the Bar Associations. It will be mailed to some District Attorneys. The mailing will also be sent to the best and most influential attorneys, retired Judges, Admirals and Generals, whom we can find that are not "enraptured with Kissinger."

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

100-193315-8
62-108867-19X

October 21, 1971

DISMISS KISSINGER:

Henry A. Kissinger is only an appointee, but you may decide that he dictates the foreign policy of the United States. This policy has never before been so bad as it has been the past 21 years when Kissinger started with Truman.

We often wish there was something we could do. We can find if it will help if we DISMISS KISSINGER.

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

H. L. Hunt

Revolution

By George E. Sokolsky

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TROTSKY was organizing the workers and soldiers to take over the provisional government in Petrograd. Two centers of activity occupied him. One was the Petrograd garrison, which was to mutiny against the authority of Kerensky. The other was the seizure of industrial plants by the workers.

One of the principal industrial institutions in Russia was the Poutiloff munitions factory, a steel works. Here shop committees were organized and the workers instructed to take over management. Step by step, in fact, the workers reduced the authority of management in all industrial enterprises, not only in Petrograd but in every city in Russia.

Long before the Communist revolution transferred political power from Kerensky to Lenin the workers had destroyed all rights in private property in industrial and commercial enterprises. The labor unions were in possession, and they were taking orders from the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies at the Smolny Institute. Private property disappeared before the rights of human beings disappeared.

What was Kerensky doing during all this period? He was speaking of what he would do. He was seeking compromises. He was angling for a reunion of Socialist groups. He was secretly negotiating with conservatives and reactionaries. He was dreaming of great Napoleonic victories. He was crying of democracy. He was steeping himself in international intrigue. He was, in fact, doing nothing at all.

He had created all the agencies for his own destruction, and they were now at work. He had sought to be popular at the expense of righteous public morals. He had catered to the other millions that he might listen to their cheers. He had abolished national discipline. He had played ducks and drakes with the law. But he dared not interfere with the forces of destruction. They marched forward unimpeded.

I attended meetings of the Constituent Assembly after Kerensky had disappeared. Here the representatives of the Russian people were quarreling. The Bolsheviks were a tiny minority. Did they mind? Not at all. Lenin waved his hand to his secretary in the balcony and smiled—it was a gesture to show how little his mind was upon the tragic struggle for Russian freedom.

Then he came no more. No Bolshevik appeared. The representatives of the Russian people—their Congress—they sat and waited.

One moment we heard a rumor that Lenin's dinner was prolonged. At another moment we heard that he was in the building—the Duma Building, I think it was.

Men stood in groups and spoke to one another. Not a person smiled. Then there were prolonged silences.

Finally the president of the Constituent Assembly arose to speak his mind on behalf of the representatives of the Russian people. The assembly hall filled with troops. One approached the dais.

"Comrade, you have spoken enough," the soldier said. "Go home!"

The representatives of the Russian people were filled with consternation. Strong men wept. I remember my own emotions—my anguish in the presence of futility. Chernoff tried to be heroic. The soldier stopped him. Workers were already marching in the streets.

The representatives of the Russian people dispersed. A minority had conquered Russia by organized minority pressure. They had seized the means of production and distribution. First they destroyed private property. Then they destroyed human rights. It was the end of Russia's chances for democracy.

What were intelligent, educated people doing? What were business men and bankers doing? At that moment each man was looking after himself. Some were seeking to get in under the tape. They would assist the Bolsheviks; maybe the Bolsheviks would let them live. Some were attempting to save a few effects. Some were even planning to corrupt the Bolsheviks as they had corrupted the Ozark regime and the Kerensky regime. Others were trying one compromise after another.

Some were speculating in the country's misfortunes. They were gambling on money exchange; gambling with bonds and stocks; holding on to raw materials for higher prices. Everywhere prices were rising and the value of the rouble was constantly declining.

Not a constructive word came from these people. Not a constructive idea. Even their newspapers ceased to print news favorable to them, because the reporters and writers were organized in unions any they would permit only such news and views to be printed as the unions ordered. And had they disobeyed, the printers would refuse to print the newspaper.

Once I saw a religious group march through the streets with icons and other holy images, and they were singing hymns for "Resurrection." But they were so few. The cadets who were in training to be military officers, they attempted to make a stand. But the

great mass of Russia's intelligentsia, of Russia's economic and social middle class, were incapable of defense.

Every night the cafes chantants were filled with the bourgeoisie. They were still eating caviare and drinking champagne. The artistes sang humorous songs about Lenin and Trotsky, and the business men applauded with merriment. They would make money, they felt, no matter what kind of politician was in power.

In the end they had nothing. Their property, their human rights, even their lives were taken from them. I met many of their wives and daughters later in Harbin and Peking and Shanghai where they were forced to earn their livings by the only means left to them.

The Bolsheviks could not ultimately succeed, they had believed. They had many explanations for their views. "The deeply mystical character of the Russian people." "The peasants will never permit their farms to be taken from them." "Starvation will drive the workers to their senses."

What is the use? All these explanations were just waves of wind. The organized minority had focussed its will on the seizure of property and government. The majority was engaged in every occupation but the defense of the rights of property and rights of man. The minority smashed the majority because only the minority knew what it wanted. The majority was destroyed because it could not believe that it had to organize and fight to live.

Yes, they woke up later. But it was too late. Their chance lay in government by law when Kerensky was in power. This chance they missed. Their tactical advantage was to resist every suggestion of compromise while they still possessed power, but they lost themselves in painful disquisitions concerning humane considerations until humanity itself was crushed. Compromise destroyed their one weapon for resistance, the army.

Some business men and bankers and engineers and lawyers escaped to foreign countries. Many more were sent to prison camps. Even more were killed. Their smartness had envenomed them.

I saw all this. From July, in 1917, until March, in 1918, I saw this process. But those who know human history only from books believe that it is possible to compromise upon essential principles of human rights. I have witnessed too many poisons mixed in the melting pot of compromise; I have seen too many Pandora's boxes opened by the intriguing fingers of compromise.

There are no two sides to some questions. You cannot see a thief stealing your silver and cogitate upon the other side of the question. You dare not think of a kidnaper and say, "Perhaps kidnapping is, after all, not altogether wrong."

Yet men will view crimes equally severe and say, "Well, maybe there is another side to this question." Do you remember Miss Perkin's remarks on the possible legality of the sit-down? It is such stuff that blows up civilizations, even as the mad gas in Texas blew up a schoolhouse.

As I write of those days in Russia I think of all the seizures of property in this country. And of the compromises that are being made. The sit-downers in Chrysler write Governor Murphy that they elected him and he must serve their will. How often was it thrown up to Kerensky that he had been raised to power by soldiers and workers, and he must obey them! When the oath of office—when an oath sworn on a Bible can become a subject for individual interpretation—when public officials can ask themselves, "Must I serve the entire nation, or the pressure group that put me in power?"—then the nation is bound to fail.

Revolutions are successful when an organized minority discovers that the majority is split, is confused, is without vigilance. Then it is revolutionary tactics to confound and confuse the majority by side issues, by speeches on humane subjects, by beating the drum of progress and liberalism.

Almost like vaudevillians repeating the jokes of a decade and a century ago, the revolutionists and the compromisers repeat the slogans and the adages of all the centuries and of all countries. They play upon distress; they create emergencies; they ridicule fundamentals. And all sorts of people are taken in by these tricks and they bow to the golden calf of humane proposals. Only too late do they learn that this emphatic humanity is only a veneer, only a sham in the rise to power.

The minority stand upon the shoulders of those whom they fool only as long as they need protection. When they want to come to earth, they destroy the props that supported them. Do you know that there were even Jews in Germany who in Hitler's early days were just such props. Where are they now?

The American people do not yet realize that they are in the first stage of a revolution. Yet all experience with revolution shows that the seizure of private property by lawless bands before whom government stands impotent is the first major battle in the destruction of any government.

HENRY A. KISSINGER

Born May 27, 1923, in Fuerth, Germany, Henry A. Kissinger is the son of Louis Kissinger and Paula Stern. He became a naturalized citizen in 1943. He was married to Ann Fleischer but was divorced. After military service in the Intelligence field he attended Harvard, receiving a bachelor of arts degree in 1950. On the basis of that and whatever other obscure reasons known to those who appointed him, Kissinger became Executive Director of the International Seminar of the Harvard Summer School in 1951. He received from Harvard a master of arts degree in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1954.

Since graduating from Harvard, Kissinger has moved directly into positions of high power and influence in both Democratic and Republican administrations and in the Council on Foreign Relations. He has been a consultant for the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations and now he is President Nixon's chief White House aide in making foreign policy. Kissinger's early and longtime connections with the Council on Foreign Relations and the influence of powerful men in the CFR probably accounts for his access to high government posts no matter which party is in the White House.

Without practical diplomatic experience he began his career as a consultant on defense and foreign policy, in addition to propaganda and psychological warfare. As an advocate of limited, no-win wars he has had vast influence in both Democratic and Republican Administrations. He proposes that the U.S. should fight limited wars until the communists get tired of waiting for our people to surrender. He ignores the fact that the Russian communist dictatorship can fight these wars with other peoples' armies and that no voice is allowed to speak against war in a communist country.

Kissinger acquired considerable influence with some powerful people often considered as "conservatives," but not constructives, because of his glib recitations and writings. Many dove "intellectuals" consider him to be Richard Nixon's best appointment. Senator Jacob Javits, the far-left New York Republican, has said that Kissinger's appointment could be Nixon's most significant one.

Kissinger quickly earned a reputation as an empire-builder for his office after his appointment by Nixon because of his energetic organization of his staff and its output. Some members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have openly questioned Kissinger's apparent grasping for power. They discount his denials and express their fear that his influence and activity will take away from Congressional prerogatives in foreign and military affairs by undercutting the regular cabinet members who are supposed to handle foreign and military activities.

Before his father migrated to the U.S. in 1938, Kissinger had used the first name, Heinz, but he shifted it to Henry while adapting to life in the U.S. Kissinger's father had been a high school teacher in Germany. The young Kissinger did well in high school in Manhattan. He went on active duty in the Army in 1943 where he grasped the opportunity to teach modern German history in an Army intelligence school in Germany as a sergeant. In 1946 he was made a civilian employee teaching in the school and given an Army reserve commission as a captain. Without either a college degree or battlefield experience, a direct commission to captain is considered highly unusual. Kissinger managed to get a government scholarship to Harvard and his influential career in government was soon launched. His foreign student exchange program at Harvard, it was later revealed, was subsidized by CIA funds secretly channeled through certain foundations.

In addition to his Council on Foreign Relations connections, Kissinger was director of a special studies project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This was from 1956 until 1958. Nelson Rockefeller took him on in 1963 as an adviser on military and foreign policy while campaigning for the Presidential nomination. In 1965 Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge assigned Kissinger to make a study of Vietnam. Kissinger's secret flight to Peking, while supposedly on a round-the-world tour to friendly governments, is his latest action. Time will tell how his arrangement for the invitation from the Red Chinese government for President Nixon to visit Peking next spring will work out.

July 21, 1971

E 8113

HENRY KISSINGER—THE MAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues might know the thought and training of the one man who controls the policies of this Government—the one man who not only advises the President which course to follow, but also tells him what the alternatives are—and his utter disdain for the role of Congress in determining foreign policy, I insert the following article from the Washington Post of July 11, 1971, and a documented article from the Herald of Freedom for January 24, 1969, in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, July 11, 1971]

HENRY KISSINGER: NIXON'S METTERNICH

(By David Landau)

(The writer is managing editor of the Harvard Crimson, in which the following appeared as part of a series of three articles on the career of Henry A. Kissinger.)

"He was a rococo figure, complete, finely carved, all surface, like an intricately cut prism. His face was delicate but without depth, his conversation brilliant but without ultimate seriousness. Equally at home in the salon and in the Cabinet, he was the beau-ideal of [an] aristocracy which justified itself not by its truth but by its existence. And if he never came to terms with the new age it was not because he failed to understand its seriousness but because he disdained it."

With these words, a Harvard thesis-writer named Henry Kissinger introduced Clemens Metternich, Austria's greatest foreign minister. Metternich was a man whom Kissinger emulated, whose diplomatic life he has sought to relive. And the comparison of the two is far from inapt.

As Richard Nixon's most influential adviser on foreign policy, Kissinger has embodied the role of the 19th-century balance-of-power diplomat. He is cunning, elusive and all-powerful in the sprawling sector of government which seeks to advise the President on national security matters. As Mr. Nixon's personal emissary to foreign dignitaries, to academia and—as "a high White House official"—to the press, he is vague and unpredictable. Yet he is the single authoritative carrier of national policy besides the President himself.

Like the Austrian minister who became his greatest political hero, Kissinger has used his position in government as a protective cloak to conceal his larger ambitions and purposes. Far from being the detached, objective arbiter of presidential decision-making, he has become a crucial molder and supporter of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy. Instead of merely holding the bureaucracy at comfortable arm's length, he has entangled it in a web of useless projects and studies, cleverly shifting an important locus of advisory power from the Cabinet departments to his own office. And as confidential adviser to the President, he never speaks for the

record, cannot be made to testify before Congress, and is identified with presidential policy only on a semi-public level.

A CONSTITUENCY OF ONE

Like the ministers who ruled post-Napoleonic Europe from the conference table at Vienna—and the Eastern Establishment figures who preceded him as policy-maker of a later age—Kissinger believes that legislative bodies, bureaucracies and run-of-the-mill citizenries all lack the training and temperament that are needed in the diplomatic field. He is only slightly less moved by the academics who parade down to Washington to peddle their ideas. And when one sets aside popular opinion, Congress, the bureaucracy and the academic community, there remains the President alone. The inescapable conclusion is that Henry Kissinger's only meaningful constituency is a constituency of one.

It might have seemed surprising that, only a month after his election, Mr. Nixon would have chosen one of his most vocal antagonists—the foreign policy adviser of his chief rival, Nelson Rockefeller—as a leading policy aide. But the two men had much more in common than anyone would have supposed.

To begin with, Mr. Nixon turned out not to be the partisan, suspect observer of the international scene whom Kissinger had so feared. Quite the contrary—Mr. Nixon was determined to take hold of the foreign policy machine and fashion his own commitment to world order, regardless of public and congressional opinion. In the past, decisions had been made in a chaotic, *ad hoc* atmosphere which lacked consistency and framework; the new President decided that such practice should cease.

For somewhat different reasons, Kissinger agreed that policy planning should be centered in the White House. For Kissinger, the balance-of-power diplomat, had long believed that world equilibrium was based on the constant threat of force, and that respect for the United States rested on the fear of its enormous military machine. At times, secret talks and well-placed overtures could avert military engagements that were not in the interest of the United States; at others, where an escalation to armed conflict seemed necessary, the decisions must be made and the orders carried out by a few top men who acted with the greatest of speed.

Such a policy of threat demanded a high degree of centralization—and the resulting Nixon-Kissinger policy structure was designed to circumvent those forces in government, such as Congress and the Cabinet bureaucrats, which were considered extraneous to that approach.

GUARDING CREDIBILITY

In addition, Kissinger realized that the policy of threat would be a failure if Mr. Nixon could not appear unfettered by others—inside Washington and out—who had claims on the President's conduct of foreign affairs. In as early a tract as "A World Restored," his 1954 Ph.D. thesis on Metternich and the restructuring of post-Napoleonic Europe, Kissinger had written that "the impetus of domestic policy is a direct social experience; but that of foreign policy is not actual, but potential experience—the threat of war—which statesmanship attempts to avoid being made explicit." In other words, popular opinion was little more than an encumbrance on those few who were capable of making decisions. For if the foreign diplomat were allowed to feel that the President's policy could be swayed by domestic upheavals, then the credibility of threat—the linchpin of the policy—would ultimately collapse.

Corollary to the policy of threat was the notion that the United States would keep its promises and fulfill its commitments no matter what the price. For the ultimate failure of diplomacy was to lose credibility, and

there was a feeling for the honor of a great power that went very deep in Kissinger. There was the idea that a faulted credibility in one area of the world would surely lead to disaster in another, because for Kissinger all the great troublespots of the world were lined up on a single continuum that connected the two superpowers: the Soviet Union and the United States. Should the Russians violate the ceasefire lines in the Mideast, then the President must be free to respond in Cambodia. And if the policy made no sense in cost-benefit analysis, at least it would proceed from strategic thinking which transcended the day-to-day pressures of political life.

WHITE HOUSE PREDOMINANCE

Kissinger felt that the presidency was the only office of government which could determine and execute foreign policy in the way it should properly be conducted. Congress was an impediment; its members, by and large, were not properly schooled in the hard-fought, intricate practice of diplomatic affairs and were more likely to respond to the uninformed concerns of their voters, to the shoddy tug-and-pull of the popular political process, than to the arduous twists and turns of great-power relationships. The bureaucracy, too, was an enemy; no imagination, no flair, no speed or adaptability, little grasp of the sacrifices and risks one must incur if the one were to maintain a flexible policy.

Kissinger, the balance-of-power diplomat, had long believed that world equilibrium was based on the constant threat of force, and that respect for the United States rested on the fear of its enormous military machine.

And as for popular opinion, Kissinger's interest lay not in how the votes would be cast today, but in how the executive structure would be affected by domestic reactions to the policy when that policy had finally run its course five or ten years later. His overwhelming concern was how well the White House could continue to function as the major force in foreign policy, whether popular opinion would one day rise up and destroy the presidency as an instrument of diplomatic relations. And when Kissinger finally agreed to go to work for the man he had scorned as a presidential candidate, it was only on the condition that the policymaking structure be geared to White House predominance.

In a series of meetings at the end of November, 1968, Mr. Nixon invited Kissinger to accept the post of foreign policy assistant and proposed a revival of the National Security Council. Set up under Truman after World War II to coordinate policy planning, the NSC system had long since fallen into obscurity, but Mr. Nixon viewed it as an instrument of restoring to the White House a critical measure of flexibility and control over policy decisions. More than anything else, he dreaded being handed a single policy recommendation which, more often than not, might be a compromise policy, an effort on the part of several differing agencies which had subdued their disagreements and presented the White House with a position it could then only accept or reject.

Underlying the revived NSC structure was the so-called "options" system; the recommendations of each agency would be solicited by the White House and then screened for the NSC and the President by Kissinger and his staff.

As the "options" man, Kissinger would be expected to give a fair, objective account of each alternative; as confidential adviser to the President, his strength would rest more on his personal relationship with Mr. Nixon than on his policymaking abilities—a relationship that would have been very difficult to predict. "I suppose what really was clear was that Henry Kissinger did not intend to become a man of particular influence," Thomas Schelling, Kissinger's closest colleague on the Harvard faculty, said recently,

"I think he honestly thought that there was a more detached role for himself." So Kissinger had gone to Washington to whittle down the options and strengthen Mr. Nixon's hand; his own influence could be determined only by the chemistry of his relationship with the President.

A TOWERING FIGURE

But for astute observers, the news of Kissinger's supremacy in foreign policy was not long in coming. In December, 1968, he flew to Key Biscayne to present Mr. Nixon with a set of blueprints for the revived NSC system—and William P. Rogers, the new Secretary of State, was already out in the cold. No longer would it be as necessary for the Secretary to meet with the President on an informal basis, as Acheson and Dulles and Rusk before him had done; like all other Cabinet members who dealt in foreign policy, his ideas would no longer be brought directly to Mr. Nixon, but would have to pass first through a system which Kissinger administered. And when Rogers met with the President and his national security adviser, he was completely overshadowed, so outclassed by Kissinger that he would rarely see Mr. Nixon in Kissinger's presence any more. "He avoids his confrontations with Henry because he knows he'll make a fool out of him," one State Department official said recently.

Kissinger was a towering figure amid the rest of the Nixon appointees. None could compare to him in terms of sheer mental preparation for the job. And it is probable that Kissinger came into his job better prepared than either of his predecessors under Kennedy and Johnson, not to mention those whom Mr. Nixon had just appointed to other, less rigorous posts, the men who had won their jobs as political favors, not by sheer intellectual breadth.

Most of the others in Mr. Nixon's retinue were men of politics, men who could be restrained by adverse domestic feeling or be deterred from a policy that seemed to make no material sense. But Mr. Nixon—a President determined to behave in a presidential way—and Kissinger, the great-power diplomat, would brook no compromise. And Mr. Nixon's personal relationship with Kissinger, unfettered as it was by ulterior political motives, became deep and profound. Kissinger is the President's only post-1960 acquaintance to have become a member of his personal inner circle. He sees Mr. Nixon more frequently than do any of his other appointees. And as Mr. Nixon's confidante, Kissinger passes the crucial judgments on the very options that he and his staff have laid out.

BUREAUCRATIC COUP

But Kissinger's coup of the Cabinet departments was not as simple as that. It involved a devious circumvention of the bureaucracy through the skillful use of study memoranda and detailed, lengthy questionnaires. According to several men who were close associates of Kissinger at the time, Kissinger came to power determined not to rely on normal channels for information concerning each of the policy undertakings. And so he proceeded to ensnare the Cabinet departments in a series of useless policy studies which left them very much on the short end of decision-making.

Kissinger's first act as Mr. Nixon's adviser was to commission an options memorandum on the progress of the war in Vietnam; he began work on the study as early as December, 1968. In the months preceding the study, the military state of affairs in Indochina had been the subject of a raging controversy inside the various departments. The outgoing presidential advisers and the upper crust of Washington's foreign service were claiming that the National Liberation Front had grown significantly weaker since the Tet offensive the previous February, that the Communist military campaign would fold in a matter of months. But the lower echelon—

often closer to the truth than were their superiors—said that the guerrillas were merely regrouping forces and growing stronger all the time—that in effect, the entire American military effort had been a failure.

Since the higher-ranking officials had regularly suppressed the opposing view in their conversations with the White House, the consultants whom Kissinger had commissioned to write the study now felt it especially necessary to get word to Nixon of what the second group was saying—which was now possible for the first time, because Kissinger and the NSC were already committed to forego the compromise policy formula and unfold the disagreements for the President.

Kissinger's solution was to split the Vietnam memorandum in two: the first part would contain a list of options on what to do about Vietnam, and the second would be a list of specific questions on the progress of the war. It was the questions part of the study—the first, in what became known as National Security Study Memoranda (NSSM)—which Kissinger said had been designed to reveal the differing points of view. This he proposed to accomplish in an unprecedented way—by putting identical sets of questions to different departments, questions which, in the cases of most agencies, fell clearly outside their range of primary responsibility. The CIA, for example, was asked to file a report on the proficiency of Saigon's army—a task which had always belonged to the military command in Vietnam.

As for popular opinion, Kissinger's interest lay not in how the votes would be cast today, but in how the executive structure would be affected by domestic reactions to the policy when that policy had finally run its course five or ten years later.

One result of the questionnaire, undoubtedly, was that many estimates suddenly became more honest: for example, the military command decided for the first time to abandon the "attrition" rationale for sustained U.S. ground action in Vietnam. In similar manner, the State and Defense Departments showed up each other's positions on the war.

TIED UP FOR MONTHS

But the major result of the questionnaire seems to have been that it tied up and discredited the bureaucracy as a whole. The higher-level officials were now as flamed as their underlings, and entire agencies were even in outright conflict. Furthermore, the questions themselves were long and bulky—merely sorting out the answers required a major effort on the part of Kissinger's own staff. And by the time the series of National Security Study Memoranda—on Vietnam and on each of the remaining issues of foreign policy—had been completed, Mr. Nixon and Kissinger had already taken the crucial steps in shaping the new administration's approach to policy.

"They had us tied up here for months and months," one State Department official ruminated recently on the NSSM series. "One wonders whether they've been used in the formulation of foreign policy."

In fact, Kissinger's use of the NSSM series to tie up Washington's civil service was a blunt, cynical attempt to alter the effectiveness of the NSC setup. The options system had been designed to curtail the influence of the bureaucracy, not to remove it; but when the dust had cleared, the Cabinet departments had been rendered virtually ineffective in the choosing of policy. By foreclosing one source of ideas, Kissinger had eliminated the options that would derive from it. The result was that his own office had been measurably strengthened.

As if this were not enough, Kissinger also proceeded to strike the "immediate withdrawal" alternative from the options half of the Vietnam memorandum, leaving his cur-

rent Vietnamization plan as the most moderate of all the options listed. Thus, even before the paper had gone to the NSC, Kissinger had made the crux of the administration's final choice inevitable: the United States was not going to leave Vietnam without exacting a price from the NLF and Hanoi. By thus manipulating the options system, Kissinger had unilaterally made a crucial policy choice.

Kissinger's ascendancy took an additional toll on the functioning of the Cabinet departments and stifled any useful ideas which might otherwise have originated in them. Neither Rogers nor Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has been as forceful and persuasive an advocate as Kissinger, and, as a result, their immediate assistants—the men who feed position papers to Kissinger and his staff—have been less likely to take risks and back up their department heads. The result has been a near monotony of viewpoint; the crucial policy recommendations have come almost uniformly from Kissinger's office.

More important, however, is the fact that, with the concentration of power in Kissinger's office, congressional investigation of policymaking—which was never very comprehensive—has reached a new low in effectiveness. As confidential adviser to the President, Kissinger has successfully claimed "executive privilege" when asked to testify on the record in congressional hearings. As a result, the only contact that Kissinger has with Congress is through informal, intermittent briefing sessions with House and Senate leaders. And even those briefings appear to be empty exercises, for Kissinger is subjected to them only when the President decides they are necessary.

Congressional resentment on this point reached a high pitch last March, when Stuart Symington, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, charged on the Senate floor that Kissinger was "Secretary of State in everything but title," and that Rogers' appearances before congressional committees has become "a rather empty exercise."

A CONFIDENTIAL RELATIONSHIP

Congress is not the only group of men with whom Kissinger has been secretive. In his spiraling staff of more than 100 people, there is no one with whom Kissinger discusses his conversations with the President. Besides his deputy, Gen. Alexander Haig, there is not one Kissinger staff member who has had any direct access to Mr. Nixon—a sharp departure from past practice, when numerous White House consultants, including Kissinger himself, were able to meet with the President. And until recently, Kissinger was the only administration official besides Mr. Nixon to convey presidential policy to the media.

There is not a single important international issue on which he does not have a major say; even on the subject of the Middle East—which Kissinger generally leaves to the State Department, partly because of his Jewish background—he has emerged at crucial points to warn against a growing Soviet presence. One of Kissinger's former staff assistants recently went so far as to suggest that the Middle East had been tossed to Rogers as a political bone because it was not a major issue.

But if Henry Kissinger's experience as White House administrator has demonstrated anything, it is that obedience to the orderly process of government is basically incompatible with the role of the cunning diplomat. For if he were obligated to predicate his actions upon such obstacles as popular will and honest information, then his actions could be predicted and the diplomat's flexibility—his capacity to pursue a policy of threat—would rapidly diminish. If the bureaucracy could be curbed, and Congress circumvented, then the policy of threat would become a reality. And that is precisely what Kissinger engineered.

[From the Herald of Freedom, Jan. 24, 1969]

HENRY A. KISSINGER

It is becoming distressingly apparent to even his staunch supporters that President Richard Nixon has made some strange appointments to key positions. Even before he officially took office, Henry Kissinger, who will be Mr. Nixon's most important adviser on foreign policy, caused the pro-Nixon Manchester Union Leader to editorially demand that Mr. Nixon "Fire Kissinger!" Kissinger is the personification of all that American conservatives distrust and fear in a political leader. He has been associated with the Council on Foreign Relations, the Bilderbergers and the Pugwash Conferences. All three are highly suspect organizations whose activities are carried on in varying degrees of secrecy. Dr. Kissinger continues the McGeorge Bundy, Walt W. Rostow pattern of individuals with CIA connections occupying the top National Security spot. There is no reason to believe the United States will be any better off with Kissinger doing the planning than it was with Rostow with whom most knowledgeable Americans were most unhappy.

McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, was a former CIA man and an associate of Kissinger at Harvard. Walt W. Rostow, who took Bundy's place under Johnson, came from the CIA-financed M.I.T. Center for International Studies. Henry Kissinger has been associated with the International Seminar and the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, also CIA-financed.

Henry Alfred Kissinger was born in Fuerth, Germany, May 27, 1923, the son of Louis Kissinger and the former Paula Stern. He and his brother, Walter Bernhardt Kissinger, were brought to the United States in 1938 by their parents who were refugees from the Hitler regime. Louis Kissinger, Henry's father, was reportedly a prominent rabbi and Zionist in Berlin.

Henry Kissinger graduated from George Washington High School (N.Y.C.) in 1941 and served in the U.S. Armed Forces from 1943 to 1946, being discharged with the rank of staff sergeant. He served with the 970th Counter-Intelligence Corps and remained in the Military Intelligence Reserve. While in service, he was reportedly investigated by G-2 which opened a case because of Kissinger's reported attempts to reach Germany and contact important personages there. Upon leaving military service, he entered Harvard where he majored in government and received four scholarships, among them the Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship for Political Theory. Kissinger graduated from Harvard in 1950 and received his M.A. degree in 1952 and Ph.D. in 1954 in the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Kissinger was married on Feb. 6, 1949 to Miss Ann Fleischer and they were divorced in 1964. The couple has two children.

In 1951 Kissinger had become executive director of the Foreign Student Project which had been started that year by Harvard Summer School. In 1952 its title was changed to International Seminar and it began publishing a quarterly journal entitled, "Confluence, An International Forum," of which Kissinger was the editor from its inception. In 1953, when the Council on Foreign Relations launched a project allegedly to "seek the answer to the question of the threat of Soviet action against insufficient American initiatives," three subcommittees were appointed and Kissinger was named study director. Out of this emerged Kissinger's book, "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," published in 1957 by Harper and Brothers. The book created quite a furore and impressed the then Vice President Nixon. According to the N.Y. TIMES, the book "brought Mr. Kissinger to the attention of scores of politicians, diplo-

mate and military men and became a source book for American policymakers."

Kissinger began his association with the Rockefeller family in 1953 when he worked for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. as director of the over-all Studies Project (1956-7) "to develop concepts that might be helpful in meeting the challenges America faces today." From 1958 to 1959 he was Research Secretary of a Council on Foreign Relations discussion group.

Under the Kennedy Administration Kissinger was special consultant to President Kennedy on the Berlin Crisis. He has also been consultant to the Operations Research Office; Operations Coordinating Board, Weapons Systems Evaluation Group, Psychological Strategy Board, National Security Council; and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In 1962 he became a full Professor at Harvard, on the faculty of the Center for International Affairs which is CIA-financed. For ten years Kissinger has been chief foreign policy adviser to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, who reportedly "recommended him enthusiastically" to Mr. Nixon. Kissinger was definitely a Rockefeller man, having attended both the 1964 and the 1968 Republican conventions as a Rockefeller aide, hoping his man would get the presidential nomination. He is credited with having pushed the Republican platform toward a more "dovish" position on Vietnam.

The importance of the position now held by Dr. Kissinger was described in an article in the N.Y. TIMES of December 8, 1968:

"For reasons that are as good and logical as they are unsettling, the power of war and peace in the United States resides in the person of one man. Last month, the country elected Richard M. Nixon for the job. Last week, the President-elect chose the one man who day in and day out will guide and guard him in that task: Henry Alfred Kissinger.

"Dr. Kissinger is to be that someone, as McGeorge Bundy was for President Kennedy and Walt W. Rostow has been for President Johnson.

"That all these men should have come from Cambridge is not entirely coincidental. Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology there helped to propel such policy-oriented academicians onto the national scene where the politicians came to know and need them.

"Dr. Kissinger's access and accessibility to the academic community must be an important consideration in his selection, as also was his ten-year advisory relationship with Mr. Nixon's principal rival, Governor Rockefeller of New York. He helped to lead scholars and thus government toward an understanding of the political and psychological problems posed by nuclear technology and toward a re-examination of both diplomatic and military assumptions carried forward from the age of American invulnerability."

Kissinger was a member of a group at Harvard which began working fifteen months before the presidential elections on a study for the benefit of the new president, whoever he might be. Kissinger wrote the foreign policy section of the resulting recommendations and Mr. Nixon was reportedly so impressed with it that he immediately asked Kissinger to see him. (The report will not be made public.) Kissinger wrote the concluding essay in the massive Brookings Institution study, "Agenda for the Nation." The central theme of the essay was that the incoming administration of the United States must deal with a world which is militarily "bi-polarized" but politically "multi-polarized."

Kissinger has written many books and articles and it should be easy to find out where he stands from them, but his writings are difficult to understand, often contradictory. A remark attributed to him recently might explain his attitude. A story in News-

week of December 30, 1968 concerning an article on Vietnam, written by Kissinger before he was named to be Assistant for National Security Affairs by Mr. Nixon, stated: "It was perhaps significant . . . that after his appointment as a Nixon adviser, Kissinger tried first to persuade the editorial board of Foreign Affairs to drop the article and then, no more successfully, to make some changes in the manuscript." The article stated further that when a reporter congratulated him on the "brilliance" of the article, Kissinger replied: "The last thing in the world I want to be at this point is publicly brilliant."

Kissinger's views on ending the war in Vietnam appeared in the January 1969 issue of Foreign Affairs, the quarterly publication of the Council on Foreign Relations. U.S. News and World Report commented on his "formula":

"The Kissinger formula calls for a series of steps to bring about a phased withdrawal of U.S. and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam and lay the groundwork for a political settlement between the Saigon Government and the Communist-controlled National Liberation Front. Dr. Kissinger did not rule out but called 'undesirable' suggestions that a coalition government with Communist participation be set up to govern South Vietnam." (Emphasis Added.)

Newsweek in its article on the Kissinger "formula" commented:

"Like most scenarios for a negotiated settlement, Kissinger's article contained some apparent inconsistencies. Although he stressed that Saigon cannot afford to give even implied recognition to the NLF, his proposal for direct talks between the two adversaries could only—despite his disclaimers—give the Viet Cong added stature. . . . And in view of his suggestion that Washington and Saigon maintain the closest possible cooperation, it seemed unrealistic to urge the exclusion of the South Vietnamese from U.S. talks with Hanoi. Nixon himself declared through a spokesman . . . that he would neither endorse nor condemn Kissinger's article . . ."

Human events gave the South Vietnamese reaction to the article:

"... the South Vietnamese were also known to be perturbed by an article in Foreign Affairs this month by Henry Kissinger, the man who will be Nixon's chief White House adviser on foreign policy.

"While the Kissinger article is complex and warns against imposing any coalition government on Saigon, many diplomatic observers believe his recommendations for ending the war are extremely fuzzy and could be easily manipulated by Hanoi.

"Particularly irksome to some were his proposals for South Viet Nam to deal directly with the National Liberation Front—thus giving the NLF recognition—and to have a coalition commission supervise the political process in the south, including new elections."

It was because of his recommendations on Vietnam that William Loeb, Publisher of the Manchester Union Leader, stated in an editorial: "This first miserable decision by Professor Kissinger should bring about his dismissal from a post to which he should never have been appointed," Mr. Loeb stated:

"There is one man in the Nixon administration who is acting just as this newspaper predicted. Harvard Professor Henry A. Kissinger, Nixon's ill-chosen White House foreign policy adviser, wants to withdraw the troops. He says it will be a signal to Hanoi that the U.S. is ready to begin general withdrawal of U.S. forces if there is reduced fighting.

"This is typical of the Harvard professor type of unrealistic approach that has done so much harm to this nation in the last 30 years. Kissinger doesn't understand that Hanoi, like its Soviet masters, respects only one thing and that is superior force."

Dr. Kissinger's previous posture on Vietnam was described in the N.Y. Times:

"During the Vietnam war he began, at least publicly, as a defender of American objectives and tactics. But on a series of quiet but energetic government missions, he reached the conclusion much sooner than either Governor Rockefeller or Mr. Nixon that American military prospects were dim, and that Washington's political prescriptions were not working as advertised—he found much fault also with Kennedy and Johnson positions, and, especially the running hot-and-cold reactions to Moscow without the planning and strategic purpose that Dr. Kissinger has consistently demanded."

U.S. News and World Report quoted Kissinger as stating: "Ending the war (in Viet Nam) honorably is essential for the peace of the world. Any other solution may unleash forces that would complicate prospects of international order." And this is what Kissinger and his intellectual colleagues definitely want: international order, which would consist of world government in a "World of Disarmament." Kissinger recommended a start toward this in "The Troubled Partnership" in 1965 in which he found a need for improved consultation among the allies. He advocated a "united Europe with federal, supranational institutions as the precondition for an Atlantic partnership," or regional world government.

As the N.Y. Times stated, Dr. Kissinger has access to the academic community, both at home and abroad. He participated in at least one "Pugwash Conference, being listed as a participant in Part Two of the two part conference held at Smugglers Notch, Stowe, Vt., Sept. 5 to 8, and Sept. 10 to 17, 1961. This was one of a series of meetings which began in 1957 under the auspices of the very pro-Soviet Cyrus Eaton and which derived their name from his home in Nova Scotia at which the first meeting was held. The name was changed from "Pugwash," however to improve the image of the conferences and an attempt made to disassociate the conferences from Eaton, at least in the eyes of the public.

The Conference attended by Kissinger was the Seventh Conference on Science and World Affairs, part two being on "Disarmament and Arms Control." Among those participating in the conference were Linus Pauling, Paul Doty, Gerald Piel, I. I. Rabi, Louis Sohn, Henry Kissinger and Leo Szilard. At the Sixth Conference, entitled the Conference of International Scientists on World Security and Disarmament, held in Moscow, Nov. 27 to Dec. 5, 1960, Kissinger's predecessor in his present job was present. Walt W. Rostow gave the closing address. Also in attendance at the Moscow conference was Dr. Jerome Wiesner, an important adviser to President Kennedy as was Rostow. The thinking of Rostow, Wiesner and Kissinger seems to be that we must trust the Soviets in order to avoid annihilation in this thermonuclear age.

The general plan is for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to join forces to police the world under a supranational authority such as an enlarged and greatly strengthened U.N., armed with a nuclear police force. Some of the papers presented at the Moscow Pugwash Conference in 1960 were most frightening in their content but they were not meant for the eyes and ears of the masses, just for those who are planning our future.

It is interesting to note that in January 1967, Nelson Rockefeller (to whom Kissinger was foreign policy adviser for ten years) and Cyrus Eaton, Jr., son of the sponsor of the Pugwash conferences, joined forces to profit by trading with the Communists. International Basic Economy Corp., controlled by the Rockefeller brothers and organized in 1947 under the principal direction of Nelson Rockefeller, and Tower International, Inc., headed by Cyrus Eaton, Jr., announced plans, as revealed in the N.Y. Times of January 18,

H. L. HUNT COLUMN -- #1738
RELEASE: 7-26-71

LET REDS OPPOSE EACH OTHER

Most anything would seem to be better than endless meetings with communists in Paris, which everyone has found is getting us nowhere. There has always seemed to be a possible advantage to our country in having communists disagree with each other, so it has been difficult for some government officials who have discussed the subject to see why Red China and Red Russia have not been encouraged to do battle in their advancement of communism and who would lead it. Other diplomats have said they want to keep down any open breaks between the Chinese and Russians because trouble between Red China and Soviet Russia could bring on World War III.

President Nixon's proposed trip to Peking could be a matter of him carrying out a deal Henry A. Kissinger already has made. No communist government has ever proved itself to be very trustworthy about carrying out any agreements, but there could be advantages to the U.S. if this is clearly recognized and the opportunity used to disturb the communists' efforts to dominate the world.

Constructive statesmen and seasoned patriots could feel better about the events about to unfold if President Nixon were receiving close counsel from eminent men such as the generals trained by MacArthur. A great nation cannot continue long abandoning its allies in favor of its enemies. Whatever else comes of the Kissinger plan for China, it already is robbing the non-communist Nationalist Chinese government on Formosa of essential prestige. Chiang Kai-shek has remained a staunch ally and has been setting a top example for developing nations to avoid communism. Upsetting the communist timetable may save millions of lives. Throwing over allies can cause every friend to desert us. Surely no one imagines the communists will love us then. HLH

END

259 words

Beginning with President Truman, Kissinger has dictated U. S. Foreign policy for each President whether he was a Democrat or Republican.

H. L. HUNT COLUMN -- #1739
RELEASE: 7-27-71

THE QUESTION OF KISSINGER

The announcement that Henry A. Kissinger had visited Peking and arranged for an invitation to President Nixon to visit the Red China capital has apparently stunned many observers around the world. The Kissinger record needs to be better understood and closely evaluated.

Kissinger has been handled with kid gloves by the national TV newsmen, despite his rather obscure qualifications for such a powerful position in a Republican administration. A few hawkish policies have failed to estrange him from the left-leaning opinion-molders. His background with the Council on Foreign Relations makes him acceptable to "liberal" pundits, despite an occasional statement to the effect that Russia is hostile to the U.S.

Shortly after finishing Harvard, where he got a Ph. D. in 1954, Kissinger was director for nuclear weapons and foreign policy in 1955 and 1956 for the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1956 until 1958 he was director of a special studies project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He was an adviser to Nelson Rockefeller on military and foreign policy in 1963 during Rockefeller's unsuccessful drive for the Presidency.

Despite lack of practical experience he has served as a consultant for the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Nixon administrations. He has become involved in the highest levels of policy making with the State Department, the Defense Department, the CIA, the National Security Council and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The public has a right to know much more about such a powerful and influential figure who did not become a naturalized citizen until 1943. HLH

END

258 words

July 21, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

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1967, to "spur trade with Reds." The article stated: "An alliance of family banking fortunes linking Wall Street and the Midwest is going to try to build economic bridges between the Free World and Communist Europe. The joint effort contemplated by I.B.E. and Tower is seen as combining the investment skills and resources of the Rockefellers and the special entre to Soviet bloc officialdom that Tower enjoys largely as a result of contacts cultivated over the last 15 years by Cyrus S. Eaton, Sr. The elder Eaton has been an outspoken advocate of closer ties between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. He has backed his convictions by visiting Russia and entertaining high Soviet leaders including former Premier Khrushchev." Kissinger's "foreign policy" advice must have made Rockefeller feel that investments in Communist countries would not be too risky.

Men of science are not going to have complete control of the new "World of Disarmament," as there are other important people in the world . . . bankers, industrialists, diplomats. These people meet and plan in secret and are called the Bilderbergers. Henry Kissinger has attended at least one of their meetings. His name was on the list of participants at the Williamsburg, Va. Conference, which took place March 20, 21 and 22, 1964. The idea of the Bilderberg meetings originated in the early fifties. The first meeting that brought American and European "leading citizens" together took place under the chairmanship of Prince Bernhard at the Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek, Holland, from May 29 to May 31, 1954. Although the Bilderbergers claim that they are not a "policy-making body" and that "no conclusions are reached," they surely do not bring important people from practically the four corners of the earth for nothing.

Another group of "unofficial" policymakers is the Council on Foreign Relations, with which Kissinger has long been affiliated. The CFR is believed by many to be the secret government of the United States. After a thorough investigation this organization was declared subversive by the American Legion of California in 1962.

Among the present or past members of the Council on Foreign Relations we find the following:

Alger Hiss, Ralph Bunche, Lauchlin Currie, Harry Dexter White, Herbert Matthews, Joseph Barnes, Cyrus Eaton, J. Robert Oppenheimer, John K. Fairbank and Arthur Goldberg, all of whom have had a record of close affiliation with Communists and some of whom were actually identified as Communists.

During the first week of December 1968 the International Association for Cultural Freedom conducted a five-day closed seminar at Princeton, N.J. Ninety individuals attended, among them Henry Kissinger who told those assembled "The doors to the White House will always be open to your ideas." Present to hear this kind invitation were Charles Hamilton, co-author with Stokely Carmichael of the book, "Black Power;" Andreas Papandreu, left-wing leader of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, exiled from Greece due to his pro-Communist activities; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., McGeorge Bundy and George Ball, among others. Some of the participants were from Communist countries at this seminar financed by the Ford Foundation.

Henry Kissinger has been a friend and associate of John Kenneth Galbraith (who called the appointment of his friend "a good one"), Adam Yarmolinsky (expected to step into Kissinger's job at Harvard, who said "I will sleep better with Henry Kissinger in Washington."), Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. ("I think it is an excellent appointment.") and Robert R. Bowie with whom he worked at the Harvard Center for International Affairs.

Kissinger has been described by a colleague as "impatiently arrogant" and his confidence in his own ability is evident from a comment reportedly made when Rockefeller sent one of his "position papers" to other advisers for comment: "Do you ask a housepainter to touch up a Picasso?" In his new position Dr. Kissinger intends to make some long-range plans for the United States as well as to completely reorganize and restructure the entire White House security planning machinery. This is a very important job to entrust to a man as acceptable to the Democratic left-wing Kennedy Administration as he seemingly is to the Republican moderate Nixon Administration. To what ends will he use the "brilliance" he wishes to conceal from the American people?

Chou Talks of Revolution, Progress

The Dallas Morning News
GENERAL NEWS

Comics

Thursday, August 12, 1971 ***
1 AA

By JAMES RESTON

PEKING — Chou En-lai, the premier of China, is an austere man with thick John L. Lewis eyebrows, cool and inquisitive dark brown eyes and white, expressive hands.

He greets his visitors in the vast Fukiên Room of the Great Hall of the Peoples on Tien-an-Men Square, across from the main gate to the forbidden city. In the formal part of our conversation, which took place Aug. 5, when he was discussing China's relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and Taiwan, he talked very slowly, as if he were tired and maybe a little suspicious, but when we moved to dinner in another part of the room shortly after 10 p.m., he brightened up and talked on a wide range of subjects.

I first asked the premier whether he was an optimist or a pessimist, and he replied with a smile that he was an optimist because he was a Communist. He then talked about the United States and showed some interest in our race problem and in the American Chinese experts who had been so severely criticized during the era of Sen. Joseph McCarthy for their views on Chinese politics.

Chou En-lai said a friend of his just back from the United States had told him American blacks were making progress and he seemed pleased about this. He asked whether many of them worked in the government, and when he was told yes, that 64 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia was Negro, and many worked in the government, he observed that this was a good thing because you get used to them.

HE SAID HE HAD no old friend in the United States except Edgar Snow, but he inquired about John S. Service and John Carter Vincent, formerly of the State Department, and Orientalist Prof. John K. Fairbank of Harvard University, and Owen Lattimore, formerly of Johns Hopkins.

When I said many of these men had been cruelly criticized and that it would be a justice and a kindness if they were able to come back and see the country they had devoted their lives to studying, he replied that this was a good idea. "Take good wishes to them," he said. "If they want to visit China, we will welcome them."

The premier expressed some admiration for Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, U.S. commander in China in World War II, mainly because the latter had quarrelled with Chiang Kai-shek, but he was rather grudging in his thin praise for Gen. George C. Marshall, although he expressed a preference for him over Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer and Patrick J. Hurley, who also served the United



Chou En-lai . . . he calls himself an optimist.

States here during the postwar period.

At one point his mind jumped from Marshall to the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of Europe after World War II and he was particularly interested in what the plan had cost the United States and whether we got any of the money back.

THE PREMIER said the United States apparently had not learned in Vietnam the lessons of its failures in China. It was now trying a Vietnamization program of arming and supporting reactionary forces that did not have the backing of the people. But that, he observed, was precisely what we had tried in China—America had "a China-ization" program of supporting Chiang Kai-shek, who had 5 million men and plenty of U.S. arms.

That was where the Communists got their arms, he said, by destroying Chiang's millions and taking their U.S. weapons. There was a very interesting photograph, he recalled, which showed Mao Tse-tung entering Peking in an American jeep and reviewing whole rows of American guns and tanks.

The premier had taken time to read what I had written from China before the meeting, and he brought up, without offense, an observation I had made that China was an old civilization which seemed vigorous and young but was run by "old men."

THE REASON FOR this, he said, was that China's revolution had gone on

for 22 years and actually for 28 years before that from the founding of the Communist party. Accordingly, the Chinese leaders grew old in the struggle and didn't come to power until they were in their 50s.

The American revolution was quite different, he observed; it lasted only a few years, and the early American presidents were young. "Jefferson was a young man when he was president. You Americans were only three million at the time of your revolution, yet were able to resist a colonial power of 30 million, so you depended on guerrilla warfare. It was you who started guerrilla warfare — George Washington started it," he remarked.

But China was thinking about the problem of succession and younger men, he said. China operated on the three-in-one combination, he said, explaining that all instruments of the government were now run by a combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. President Nixon would see, when he came here, Chou En-lai said; that young and middle aged will join in the talks.

While the premier talked, an elaborate dinner was served.

IT WOULD BE misleading to say the meal was served in courses: it was a never-ending stream. First hors d'oeuvres of prawns, green beans, cold duck and chicken, and delicious morsels of fish. Then the first of three soup courses, this one oyster broth with tiny oysters the size of a quarter, and floating slices of cucumber, followed by a dish of shrimp balls, quails eggs, cabbage and sea slugs. There were small glasses of sweet red wine and an explosive kind of schnapps called Mao Tai, which Chou En-lai used to propose a toast, without swallowing a drop.

And about at this point he began talking about the Chinese revolution and Stalin.

I observed that parents owed their children a record of the years before a child has its own memory and asked whether the leaders of the Chinese revolution felt the same obligation. Had they kept personal records in the form of diaries or journals of their long political struggle?

"No," he replied, "none of us has kept a diary — not Mao, nor Lin Piao, nor I, and none of us wants to write our memoirs." Maybe, though, he continued, a history of China from the Opium War on should be prepared, and per-

haps it would be a good idea to try to set the record down on tape. But, he added, "we're not quite accustomed to the tape recorder in China yet."

THE PREMIER, who in the formal part of the conversation, had criticized the Soviet Union, nevertheless expressed his admiration for Joseph Stalin. Looked at from certain points of view, he said, no doubt Stalin had his shortcomings, and even from a Chinese point of view he was not good for China at the Yalta conference with Roosevelt and Churchill, but from a world point of view there was much to be said for him.

"We consider him to be a great Marxist-Leninist," he said. "Also, you must admit he made great contributions to the world war. You must admit this."

Unfortunately, Chou En-lai added, Lenin had died early, and after his death, no one but Stalin could have held the Soviet Union together — no one. And without the 15 years of Soviet construction before the outbreak of World War II, it would have been impossible to defeat the Germans.

The premier, although the dinner had run through almost two hours and many courses, never let the conversation loiter. His mind seemed to jump from one topic to another and as it was getting on toward midnight, suddenly began talking about the United States again.

AMERICA HAS its merits, he said. It was composed of peoples of all nations and this gave it an advantage of the gradual accumulation of the wisdom of different countries.

"You are also a big country," he said. "We both have about the same amount of land and room for development. Of course, you plead that your economic and political system is good, but let's not argue about that. You will not oppose progress, and if you are going to make progress, of course you must expect change. You will undoubtedly develop faster because of your industrialization," he added.

This turned his mind to the question of language which seemed to have a special fascination for him. He said English was now the second language in China, although the Chinese attached quite a lot of importance to French. There is a tendency in China now, he added, that he didn't quite approve of: Too little attention was being paid to the Russian language.

PART OF THE explanation of Chou En-Lai's intense interest in language lies in the fact language reform in China from the time of World War I was one of the roots of Chinese political reform and revolution.

"We are giving the Chinese language simplified characters," the premier said. He was obviously intrigued by this question of comparative languages and the emergence of English as the language of diplomacy.

HIS OBSERVATIONS on men and the affairs of life were wide. Among other things he had this to say:

—On Chiang Kai-shek: He was, Chou En-lai said, very much acquainted with him. There was one point: even from the standpoint of the Americans, Chiang was a man who can stand up to American pressure, not like Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon. Chiang has a sense of national respect, but that is not the case with all the people around him. The CIA, Chou En-lai added, will know all about that.

—On birth control: It was not good for China to expand its population, now variously estimated at from 750 million to 850 million. China could not raise living standards with rapid population growth and it was not good for mothers. China was making progress on this problem, he said, but not everywhere in the country.

SUDDENLY THE quails eggs and sea slugs were gone and there were some mini-dumplings with meat, and of all things, the first time in our experience here, beautiful white expanses of bread and butter, which the premier consumed with delicate satisfaction.

In short, it was not exactly a TV dinner, and not a typical American interview either.

A few minutes after midnight, the premier gave the signal to disperse. He first sat us down to make a forgotten point about Korea and finally took us to the door, which could not have been more than a quarter of a mile away. It was quite a night.

GO SLOW WITH RED CHINA

A leading contender for the nomination for the Presidency of the United States recently stated that in his opinion Red China should be admitted to the United Nations this year. Other well-known political figures of the liberal and left groups are literally falling over themselves in their haste to push Red China for a prominent position among the family of nations.

Already we have had what is termed ping-pong diplomacy and the relaxation of restrictions on trade with the communists of mainland China. Few voices are being raised in alarm at what is going on, but, in the words of the late Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, "Let's look at the record."

With regard to Red China a look at the record might be sobering. Here are some things we find:

The communists took over in China by force—by revolution and aggression, just as they have taken over almost everywhere else. They have maintained themselves in power, as communists always do, by purges, murders, suppression, oppression, and barbarism.

The Red Chinese committed aggression not only against the Chinese people but, in seeking to advance their stated goal of controlling all Asia, against India and Tibet.

The Red Chinese committed aggression against South Korea and the United States when their North Korean allies attacked South Korea. At that time the UN branded Red China as the aggressor.

The Red Chinese have supplied and supported North Vietnamese communists in their aggression against South Viet Nam. It is noteworthy that Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, who was praised by American news media for his friendliness toward the American ping-pong team, had

denounced Americans as imperialists, and he informed the North Vietnamese that they had the complete support of Red China in their efforts to defeat the United States.

Red China has devoted its efforts to developing hydrogen weapons while its people live in terrible poverty, and the nation is soon expected to be in a position to wield nuclear blackmail against its neighbors.

Sports, like other means, are used to further Red China's goals and contentions. While American newspapers headlined the invitation to the United States ping-pong team to visit Red China, they barely noticed the announcement that Red China would not participate in the International Lawn Tennis Federation because it included Free China on Taiwan. In rejecting membership in the tennis organization, almost simultaneously with the invitation to the American ping-pong team, Red China denounced "the manipulation of U.S. imperialism."

Many Asian experts and analysts are frankly alarmed at the turn of events, at the manner in which American leadership seems impatient to embrace the leaders of Red China, as vicious and dangerous as they are.

The big question in the minds of a number of Asian experts is this: Will we make the same mistakes with regard to Red China that we have made in our dealings with Russia? Some even go so far as to state that Russia could never have reached its present position of power without the help of the West, particularly of the United States. Almost every time the United States—its leadership impatient to achieve lasting friendship and peace—has cooperated and negotiated with communist Russia, these meetings have been followed by gains for Russia.

It is feared that we are embarking on a course with Red China which will have similar results in Asia. At times when internal troubles caused problems in Russia, we cooperated with the Red bosses by operating some concession or negotiating some agreement or agreeing to some Red contention which gave the Red leadership a new propaganda lever with the people.

There is evidence that all is not well inside Red China, that Red failures are causing great unrest among the teeming millions of people. It is also a fact that Chairman Mao has declared: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

There is a strong belief among some experts on international affairs that China is prepared to continue for 100 years or longer its assault against free nations everywhere, and that its leadership might even use nuclear warfare to accomplish its goals.

Red China, then, is an international outlaw, committed to the task of dominating the world for communism. The communists are extremely patient, willing to move slowly to capitalize on American impatience.

We would do well to consider a statement by the Chinese philosopher Confucius, who said: "Do not seek quick results, nor look for small gains. Seek quick results and you will not achieve success; look for small gains and you will not accomplish big projects."

It is difficult to understand why our leaders endanger our nation by trying to do business with international outlaws and in so doing betray our staunch friends.

C.F.R. Professor Henry Paolucci, of St. John's University, wrote a study about Kissinger which appeared in the Congressional Record of August 4, 1971, a portion of which states: "Henry Kissinger, too, expressed as recently as 1965 the conviction that the time was at hand for a surrender of nationhood because 'institutions based on present concepts of national sovereignty are not enough.' The ultimate goal of a supranationalist world community, he wrote, 'will not come quickly; many intermediate stages must be traversed before it can be reached. It is not too early, however, to prepare ourselves for this step beyond the nation-state.'"

After Kissinger's appointment, he increased the staff of his assistants, consultants, and advisers until today he has 110 people working directly for him, including a number of individuals with dubious backgrounds. One of them is Helmut Sonnenfeldt who is very close to Kissinger and was formerly Chief of Soviet and Eastern Europe matters in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. During the Eisenhower Administration Sonnenfeldt had been the subject of an intensive FBI investigation regarding the giving of secret information to agents of a foreign power. Although it was reported that the FBI had an iron-clad case, William P. Rogers, who was the Attorney General, refused to prosecute Sonnenfeldt on the grounds that the State Department felt it would not be in the interest of the U.S. Government to have the information become public knowledge. Sonnenfeldt, acting as Kissinger's top assistant, accompanied President Nixon on his trip to Communist Rumania.

Kissinger arranged contracts with the Rand Corp. in California without knowledge of the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary of State. One contract had to do with what the Soviet reaction would be to U.S. atomic attack on Egypt. Another study was for the purpose of preparing a report on the "feasibility" of restoring political, economic, and cultural relations with Castro's Cuba. Kissinger encouraged persons working on Nelson Rockefeller's Latin-American Report in 1969 to press the view that U.S. should offer Cuba normal relations and trade. Kissinger also had a major role in getting the National Council of Churches to call for the U.S. to drop its quarantine of Cuba and re-establish diplomatic relations. Another study ordered by Kissinger was how the anti-Communist government of Brazil might be overthrown.

Kissinger has his own direct connections with the Communist government of North Vietnam. Paul Scott reported on November 12, 1969:

"Although it has been one of the best kept secrets of the Vietnam war, Kissinger has been deeply

"Two mysterious Frenchmen have been Kissinger's go between with Hanoi. They are Raymond Aubrac and Professor Herbert Marcovich, friends of Wilfred Burchett, the Australian correspondent whom the Kremlin and Peking uses frequently for high-level intelligence and diplomatic operations." (Burchett is a known KGB Agent)

Aubrac has been director of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, was a close personal friend of Ho Chi Minh, and on his U.N. job found it easy to travel to Communist countries from which most Americans are barred. Aubrac had been introduced to Kissinger, then a Harvard professor, in 1967 by Marcovich, a professor at the University of Paris. Kissinger and Marcovich had met earlier at one of the Pugwash meetings organized by pro-Soviet millionaire Cyrus Eaton.

It was on Kissinger's recommendation that President Johnson made an offer to Hanoi to stop the bombing of North Vietnam if Hanoi would give assurances that it would not take advantage of the halt. Kissinger's channels reported that Hanoi would cooperate but they never did and American intelligence officers reported that Hanoi used the lull to rebuild its stock piles of arms and military supplies at advance bases in Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. . . . which resulted in the deaths of thousands of Americans.

President Nixon endeavored to have Kissinger negotiate the U.S. out of Vietnam but, as it turned out, Kissinger convinced President Nixon that the only way out was for him to unilaterally withdraw U.S. troops.

After the FBI had arrested on conspiracy charges a group affiliated with the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives (the Berrigan Case), Kissinger actually entertained in the White House three of the co-conspirators arrested in the plot to kidnap him.

In 1971, prior to the Communist-inspired-and-directed demonstrations for May Day, Kissinger entertained some of the key leaders in the organization that controlled the demonstrations which were aimed at shutting down Washington, D.C. and which resulted in thousands of arrests.

A former employee of Kissinger told Noel E. Parmentel, Jr.: "He's (Kissinger) got us all buffaloed. He can (and will) lift your security, get you a foundation black ball, bong you at the colleges, put you in coventry. He's got spies in every department. He's running the Ministry of Fear. All his phones are tapped and he keeps long dossiers."

According to numerous newspaper and magazine articles, Kissinger had developed the reputation of



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HENRY A. KISSINGER --- REVISITED

Well-informed Washington sources, including some members of Congress, consider Presidential Adviser Henry A. Kissinger to be the second most important individual in the U.S. Government and have referred to it as the Kissinger-Nixon Administration.

Henry Alfred Kissinger, born at Fuerth, Germany May 27, 1923, has come a long way fast since his immigration to this country at the age of fifteen. The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL carried an article entitled "This German in the White House" in which it is stated that Kissinger's birth is recorded in the town hall at Fuerth as Alfred Heinz Kissinger, son of Paula Kissinger (nee Stern) and Louis Kissinger, address was Mathilden Strasse 23, Fuerth (which is in middle Franconia). At the time of Kissinger's appointment by President Nixon, French newspapers reported that his father had been a rabbi in Germany. DER SPIEGEL states that Louis Kissinger was principal of a state school for girls of the upper class. The Kissingers came to the U.S. in 1938 as Jewish refugees from the Nazis, Kissinger's father, although over 80 years old, now lives in Washington Heights, N.Y., and has been working as a bookkeeper. His mother has helped support the family by working incognito in Jewish households for bar mitzvahs and parties.

Kissinger was 15 years old when his family came to the U.S. After graduating from George Washington High School in Manhattan, he obtained an A.B. from Harvard in 1950, an MA in 1952 and Ph.D. in 1954. On February 6, 1949, he married Ann Fleischer and they had two children. The marriage ended in a divorce in 1964. Noel E. Parmentel, Jr., writing in the Village VOICE, March 18, 1971, stated: "When he (Kissinger) was married to Ann, who was a genuine human being, he couldn't stand it. After she literally slaved to send him through graduate school he almost turned her into a zombie with all that screaming and shouting. Just like the Gestapo. He was ashamed of her New York accent and always told her how she embarrassed him in front of 'important people.' It got so bad she was scared to even open her mouth. That house in Belmont was like 'Gaslight.'" Little wonder his wife divorced him.

Kissinger became a U.S. citizen in 1943 through service in the U.S. Army. In view of the fact that German had been Kissinger's native tongue, he became an interrogator in counter-intelligence. Later, although only a sergeant, he was put in charge of administering a German town. By 1946, because of his capabilities or connections, he was made a civilian employee at a salary of \$10,000 a year. While working for his Master's Degree at Harvard, Kissinger was made executive director of the Harvard International Seminar, a CIA-financed center which sponsors student exchange programs. By the time he received his Doctorate Degree in 1954, he was already serving as a consultant to a number of government agencies and teaching at Harvard. In 1955 Kissinger was appointed director of Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations, and also became a member of that organization. The following year he became director of special study projects for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. (having been appointed by Nelson Rockefeller) and served in that position for two years. Thereafter he continued teaching at Harvard but took time out during the 1961-62 period to be a consultant for the National Security Council and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He also served intermittently as a consultant to the State Department and worked closely with Walt W. Rostow in Washington.

One of Kissinger's students at the CIA-financed Harvard International Seminar was Uzi Narkiss who was a senior officer in the Israeli Army at the time and who visited Kissinger at the White House in 1969. Narkiss was the commanding general of the Israeli troops that took Jerusalem in 1967. According to LIFE magazine (September 5, 1969), Narkiss advised Kissinger that Israel will hold the Arab territories as long as it likes.

Confidential sources reported that Kissinger was considered a security risk but obtained his security clearance through President Nixon. Kissinger actually received his appointment as Presidential Adviser for National Security Affairs through the recommendation of Nelson Rockefeller and key people in the

women, including Women's Lib leader Gloria Steinem, who is national sponsor of the Committee to Defend the Black Panthers. After graduating from college, Gloria Steinem worked for the National Student Association, which was CIA-financed and which paid for American students to attend Communist youth festivals in Europe. According to NEWSWEEK of August 16, 1971, Gloria Steinem has had a close relationship also with Negro track star Rafer Johnson, movie director Mike Nichols, and they reported Cesar Chavez is proud to call her his friend.

The West German magazine QUICK created a sensation with the publications of secret telegrams of Rolf Pauls, West German Ambassador in Washington, to his home office which disclosed very unusual behind-the-scenes political conversations between West German State Secretary Egon Bahr and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry Kissinger. Informed sources state that Henry Kissinger has been promoting the West German concessions to Moscow and Communist East Germany. In fact, a Washington source advised that when Henry Kissinger made his trip to Peking, China, he actually traveled on a West German passport.

One of Kissinger's special assistants who accompanied him on the trip to Red China is Richard Smyser, described by the WASHINGTON POST as Kissinger's Vietnam expert and former member of the Paris peace talks delegation. On January 2, 1971 Congressman John R. Rarick told his colleagues: "Mr. Speaker, it appears that the District of Columbia social event of the year was a trouserless orgy and was held by a member of the staff of Dr. Henry Kissinger, special assistant to President Nixon for national security affairs." A large number of Kissinger's national security affairs staff, other White House staffers and some employees from Capitol Hill and other branches of government attended the "trouserless orgy," during which underwear made from an American flag was revealed. Congressman Rarick remarked that it is little wonder our young people over the country "have become disillusioned with this so-called establishment, when such total disregard for decency and morality is flaunted by people who are related to as representative of our Government. If other members of the Paris peace talks delegation are of the same character as exhibitionist Richard Smyser, we can now begin to understand why even the Vietcong cannot communicate with them."

The withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam without the release of American prisoners of war is looked upon in this country, as well as abroad, as surrender to the enemy: However, the unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam is the fulfillment of Dr. Kissinger's plan. In the

January 1969 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the quarterly publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, an article by Dr. Henry Kissinger states his formula for ending the war in Vietnam which calls for a series of steps to bring about a phased withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and for a political settlement. Dr. Kissinger did not rule out a coalition government with Communist participation.

When the U.S. March for Victory in Vietnam was held last fall, it was expected that South Vietnam's Vice-president, Nguyen Cao Ky, would attend and speak at the rally which called for a military victory in South Vietnam. The New York TIMES of September 26, 1970 noted that Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's adviser on foreign policy, had scheduled a meeting in Paris with Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky to try to "persuade him not to attend the March for Victory rally here next week." The White House confirmed that Mr. Kissinger was flying to Paris and would meet with Mr. Ky, with the end result, of course, that Ky was pressured into not appearing at the patriotic rally.

Another of Henry Kissinger's secret activities was to obtain a \$100 million cut-back in the Defense Department's budget for intelligence-gathering operations. Veteran intelligence officials viewed this as a move by Kissinger to tighten his White House control over all intelligence operations. Since intelligence estimates are used as a key factor in the formation of American foreign policy, a tighter control of national intelligence operations would greatly increase Kissinger's already tremendous influence in the making of foreign policy.

In 1970 when the Soviet Embassy held a grand-scale celebration of Lenin's birthday, Henry Kissinger was designated as the Nixon Administration's representative for the Lenin birthday celebration, this designation reportedly being Kissinger's own idea.

Through the unusual media of the society section of the WASHINGTON POST of February 20, 1971, in a column written by Dorothy McCardle, we learn that it was Henry Kissinger who worked on President Nixon's State of the World message. So powerful has Henry Kissinger become at the White House that even the liberal editor of the HARVARD CRIMSON, David Landau, writing for the WASHINGTON POST of July 11, 1971 observed "Kissinger has used his position in government as a protective cloak to conceal his larger ambitions and purposes. Far from being detached, objective arbiter of presidential decision-making, he has become a crucial molder and supporter of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy. Instead of merely holding the bureaucracy at comfortable arm's length, he has entangled it in a web of useless projects

advisory power from the Cabinet departments to his own office." Mr. Landau also noted that, as a confidential adviser to the President, Kissinger has successfully claimed executive privilege when asked to testify on the record in congressional hearings.

Informed sources state that Henry A. Kissinger is not only a protege of Nelson A. Rockefeller, but has been an adviser to him for over 15 years. The original relationship goes back to Kissinger's student days at Harvard when he received a Rockefeller Fund Fellowship for political theory. Kissinger attended both the 1964 and 1968 Republican Conventions as a Rockefeller aide and is credited with having pushed the Republican platform towards a more dovish position on Vietnam. Kissinger was also associated with the Rockefellers in the special studies project in 1956-57 and then from 1958-59 when he was research secretary for a Council on Foreign Relations special discussion group, again on Rockefeller's recommendations.

Henry Kissinger's program for trade, cultural and diplomatic relations with Communist China (now embraced by Nixon), Kissinger's plan to restore relations with Cuba, his arranging for the President to visit Communist countries are all a part of a Rockefeller program to stimulate worldwide trade with Communist countries. In January 1967, Nelson Rockefeller and Cyrus Eaton, Jr., son of the sponsor of the Pugwash Conferences, joined forces to profit by trading with the Communists. The International Basic Economy Corp. (which was organized in 1947 under the principal direction of Nelson Rockefeller and is controlled by the Rockefeller Brothers) and Tower International Inc. (headed by Cyrus Eaton, Jr.) announced plans as revealed in the N.Y. TIMES of January 16, 1967 in an article entitled "Eaton Joins Rockefeller to Spur Trade with Reds." The TIMES noted that the joint effort of International Basic Economy Corp. and Tower International, Inc. is seen as combining the investment skills and resources of the Rockefellers and the special entree to Communist officialdom that Tower enjoys largely as a result of contacts cultivated over the last 15 years by Cyrus Eaton, Sr., always welcomed as a V.I.P. in Communist countries.

After his return from the secret meeting with Chou-En-Lai, Kissinger made a hurried and secret trip to London where reportedly he conferred with a mystery man named Victor Louis at the Soviet Embassy. Victor Louis, whose real name is Vitaly Yevgenyevich Lui, is a high ranking member of Soviet Intelligence who carries out secret diplomatic missions for the Soviet government with heads of state and key internationalists throughout the world. It was Victor Louis who arranged the sale of the Khrushchev Memoirs to LIFE magazine after their careful editing by the KGB. Louis, who is reportedly a millionaire, is so important that he resides in a three-story mansion located 15 miles outside of

Moscow with a swimming pool, pine wood sauna, private tennis court and garage which contains his five automobiles. His standard of living exceeds that of some of the most important members of the Soviet hierarchy. Although the secret meeting between KGB agent Victor Louis and Henry Kissinger was not reported by the world press, NEWSWEEK magazine on August 9, 1971 did report that Victor Louis has made application for an American visa and has put out private feelers for a meeting with Kissinger.

In addition to having been on the payroll of the Council on Foreign Relations and having been a long-time member of that organization, Henry Kissinger was accepted by the Bilderberg group and was permitted to attend at least one of their meetings. His name appeared on the list of participants at the Bilderberger Conference held at Williamsburg, Va. March 21-22, 1964. A number of other C.F.R. members are also connected with the Bilderberg group whose meetings are so secret that the American press does not even report them. The C.F.R. has had as active members Soviet agents Alger Hiss, Lauchlin Currie and Harry Dexter White; Herbert Matthews, who assisted Castro to power; Joseph Fels Barnes, identified as a Communist, who wrote Eisenhower's "Crusade in Europe" for him; Cyrus Eaton, pro-Soviet multi-millionaire; identified Communist John K. Fairbank, whose advice on Chinese Communist affairs is now being sought by U.S. officials. Another interesting member of the subversive C.F.R. is George A. Lincoln, Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, an executive agency which has jurisdiction and control of the carrying out of the executive orders issued by President Nixon when he declared a state of national emergency "for economic reasons" and then announced his wage and price freeze. This 90-day "freeze" is but "Phase I" of bigger but unfortunately not better things to come, a transitional period while the dictatorial powers now being assumed by the President and his top "adviser" Kissinger are being more carefully worked out.

Informed sources in Washington are of the opinion that, although he is a known security risk and obviously working against the interests of our country, Henry Kissinger is so firmly entrenched in his position that even President Nixon is unable to remove him. Perhaps we should call it the Kissinger Administration.

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REVIEW

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H. L. HUNT
1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 6, 1971

4
APR
7

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Miller	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Dalbey	✓
Mr. Cleveland	✓
Mr. Ponder	✓
Mr. Bates	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We have been putting out material which will cause people to start crusades, large or small. I have written many governors, including some of the very dubious ones, and have sent copies of the material I have sent these governors to the heads of the sheriffs' associations in their state.

If I am right and Kissinger is wrong, several of these governors may speak out. I feel sure that Governor George Wallace, who has a \$100 a plate dinner going for him in New Orleans on Wednesday night, in addition to his regular campaign against busing, may fully proceed along the DISMISS KISSINGER lines.

I am also sending to the publishers of many newspapers and am enclosing a copy of my message to them.

I don't believe there are many people who favor Kissinger's curbing the FBI.

With best wishes,

Constructively,

H. L. Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLH/pl
Enc.

REC-3 42-108967-20
COPIES MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

18 DEC 10 1971

4- ENCLOSURE
58 DEC 14

Deleted Copy Sent Philip J. Huchings
by Letter 7/11/75
Per FOIA Request

(b)(6)

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

December 5, 1971

The week of December 6 apparently will come with a storm of requests for more information regarding Henry A. Kissinger. He, after 17 years at Harvard as a student and professor, began dominating U. S. foreign policy in the second year of President Truman's elective term. You may ascertain that a majority of your readers may begin feeling uneasy toward you for your failure to keep them adequately informed of the takeover of the government of the United States and the government of some large states. A skimpy amount of this easily verified information appeared in the Congressional Record from time to time, but few took time to properly evaluate it, and now feel very foolish that they and their favorite paper did not become alert to this terrible danger.

People are concerning themselves about Christmas gifts, and the greatest gift you could make them would be more information which would lessen crime, reduce the communist menace and save our Republic from its little known but most evil enemies. You may find that your Governor and state officials wish to start a chorus of crusades to save our Republic.

Constructively,

H L Hunt

H. L. Hunt

HLH/ej
Enclosures

newspapers

62-108867-20

ENCLOSURE

In November, 1918, we and our allies won the bitterly fought World War I against Germany. Again after the final surrender to General Douglas MacArthur on August 14, 1945, we were on the winning side of World War II, another bitter war with Germany. Should we have lost either of these wars with Germany, it would have been considered a great disaster.

In 1938 Louis Kissinger and wife, Paula Stern Kissinger, refugees from Germany migrated to the United States and brought with them their German-born son, Heinz. The son, changing his first name to Henry A., spent 17 years at Harvard, as a student and as professor, receiving B.A., M.A. and PhD degrees. He was naturalized in 1943.

Henry A. joined the U.S. government's national administration during the second year of Truman's elective term. There he promptly began shaping U.S. foreign policy. He determined the policies in succeeding administrations whether the President was a Democrat or Republican and regardless of which party was in control of Congress; in effect, running the U.S. government. He recently began heading the National Security Council, the basic decision-making body at the top Presidential level for diplomatic and defense affairs. He now heads two new top committees within the National Security Council and a secret panel called the 303 Group or the FORTY COMMITTEE which reports directly to the NSC. The secret panel known as the 303 Group, "advises" the President on secret operations of U. S. spy and counter-spy activities. The first of the committees within the NSC, the NSC Intelligence Committee, in addition to its chief Kissinger, includes Richard Helms, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (which is supposed to coordinate all U.S. intelligence activities, including

those of the FBI, the Atomic Energy Commission, the State Department and the Secret Service and other Treasury Department agencies, as well as the military intelligence agencies); John Mitchell, the Attorney General; the Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff; the Undersecretary of State and the Deputy Defense Secretary. This powerful committee is the new agency which assigns tasks to all the agencies and "reviews" the results. The second new committee is called the Net Assessment Group. It is comprised of members of Kissinger's own NSC staff, and its task is to assess the comparative strengths of various world powers, including the U.S. and Russia.

Both civilian and military leaders of the Defense Department and the military services resisted the reorganization of U.S. intelligence activities. Their major objections refer to the fact that if one source of intelligence is in error and there is no competing agency to find any other viewpoint, the nation will be at the mercy of the mistaken agency. That is a fearful situation for the nation to be in, as Defense Secretary Laird himself has stated.

PARADE magazine, a weekly supplement with a circulation of 16,713,177, published a 4-page interview with Henry A. Kissinger on October 24, 1971. In the Bob Hope Special on Nov. 7, 1971, Bob played the part of Henry Kissinger. The public needs to learn as much as they can regarding Kissinger.

We have won two wars, the first with 320,518 reported U.S. casualties and the second with 1,076,245 reported U.S. casualties, but in the past 22 years have lost the policies which we won and dictated in these two wars.

C. A. Dickey

42-108867-20
ENCLOSURE

1971 November 17 - Many of the former military leaders believe that our Republic may be taken over either two years or three years from now, and many of our greatest researchers share this alarm. I have made no prediction that this would happen. This is an alert to the gravest danger our people have ever faced. No one who is a non-communist has anything to gain from the destruction of Freedom and our Republic. It need not happen. But to safeguard against this tragedy will require the fine majority of citizens to become more vocal and better organized to prevent defeat or our surrender. There is a movement known as LAW-AID in which citizens will act to protect and aid their law officers. We have plenty of patriots to save our Republic if they will become more active in Freedom's cause. H. L. Hunt

62-108767-20
ENCLOSURE

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Wednesday, Jan. 26, 1970
U.N. Finances

In the words of U.N. Secretary-General U Thant in his recent annual report, the U.N.'s financial situation "remains precarious" and is a "matter of serious concern." The U.N., in fact, is near bankruptcy. As of this summer, members owed \$170 million in uncollected assessments.

Several nations, most of them Communist, have declared they have no intention of paying. Despite this substantial deficit, the U.N. has constantly increased its operating budget. For this past year it was \$209 million, not including the budgets of special agencies. The Economic and Social Development Fund alone is to spend \$250 million in 1970, up from the \$200 million in the previous year.

Since the U.S.A. pays about half of the U.N. expenditures, our taxpayers will "contribute" about \$109 million to this U.N. aid program. Our own aid program is wasteful, but it is even worse to use the taxpayers' money in a foreign aid program over which our Congress has no control whatsoever.

H. L. HUNT
Dallas

The Dallas Morning News
Thursday, May 22, 1969
Crusades Needed

To The Dallas News:

The settlement of North America and the founding of the U.S. Republic resulted from many crusades. We now need crusades, large and small, to dispel some of the present evils. In trying to lessen crime, remember that the U.S. Constitution empowers Congress to preclude the U.S. Supreme Court from accepting appeals from lower courts for some special crimes.

Communists organize constantly and completely; individualists poorly, if at all. Patriots should crusade, demanding from each other action in concert. Crusades might legally halt unnecessary expenditures. Crusades to organize and defeat communism, crime and inflation, if right, honest and thorough, could prevail.

H. L. HUNT.

Dallas

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Wednesday, May 8, 1970
'Life Line' Cited

Since "Life Line" is so well accepted in formulating constructive public opinion, it could serve as an ideal example for those employing news staffs at TV networks. Patriotic organizations like "Life Line" avoid any use of those who specialize in demeaning Republic U.S.A. or who defame anyone who is a freedom enthusiast.

In order to discharge their obligations to the public and our government, any TV network or station should use personnel of high integrity who keep in mind their responsibility, which is not to be disrupters and destroyers but to the builders and creators who made, preserve and maintain the best form of government mankind has yet achieved.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

The Dallas Morning News
Monday, November 8, 1971 '2D
Flexible Workweek

To The Dallas News:

The flexible workweek, initiated in the East Texas oil fields in 1931 by H. L. Hunt, was to lessen unemployment. Sen. Hugo Black, D-Ala., in 1933 introduced the flexible workweek bill in the Senate, where it passed, and the House Ways and Means Committee adopted it.

Before Congress could complete action, President Roosevelt sprung the National Recovery Act, stopping the plan which had doubled Hunt employment. NRA, later held to be unconstitutional, stifled business. Rotary drilling was not arduous for workers, who were working 12-hour shifts to keep the wall of the hole in best condition. Hunt's improved plan reduced shifts to six hours, six days a week and was widely copied, virtually doubling drilling jobs. Elsewhere, jobs declined and businesses failed.

By January, 1934, more than 12 million were out of work, and 14.6 per cent were still jobless in 1940. The flexible workweek solves unemployment without going to war.

AUSTIN B. TAYLOR.

4404 University Blvd., Dallas.

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Friday, July 11, 1969
Inflation and Taxes

The theory that inflation can be halted by raising taxes is as fallacious as it is persistent. The "remedy" of higher taxes to halt inflation actually adds to all costs of doing business: in raw materials, production, transportation and distribution, piling higher taxes on the resulting higher taxed products at every level. This can only result in higher prices for everything, the very condition which increased taxes are intended to change.

It does no good, only harm, as the past year's surtax experience has proved, for the government to spend bigger amounts of money, feeding the fires of inflation while taking it away from good working taxpayers to dump down foreign and domestic aid ratholes. Higher taxes to stop inflation is well disproven theoretically and has always been disproven in practice, yet it seems nearly impossible to win the Keynesians over from the errors of their ways.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Tuesday, Oct. 28, 1969
Throw Off Lethargy

"What can I, one person, do?" is a burning question asked by citizens who apparently think something must be done. Its correct answer may be the best of all suggestions to save Republic U.S.A.

What the lonely "one person" can do is to enlist a pal in his cause. When the one person inspires a co-freedomist, his impact is doubled. These two can then work toward building a team of six, each one dedicated to give 10 minutes per weekday to the freedom cause they select.

The truth-side outnumber the hard-core Communist 17,000 to 1 and can defeat communism, which is becoming less popular. Lovers of freedom and Republic U.S.A. need only to throw off lethargy, unwillingness to organize and get started. They can build a successful crusade of newsmen, churchmen and faculty members and easily defeat the "master and slave" concept.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas ENCLOSURE

The Dallas Morning News
Wednesday, October 8, 1961
Leftward List
Won't Be Tolerated

To The Dallas News:

Any turn toward the left or toward a nation of pro-communism by a major political party will not find favor with the people. The quiet majority of citizens are concerned and visibly fed up with crime, inflation and communism, all designed to destroy our Republic.

Any party which tries to "make pollywag" with what they might call "modern versions of atheism or socialism in form will bring their party into disrepute making it unacceptable to the majority have been voting for a change and a turn the right.

Those who would destroy the Republic are a minute minority of our population. ingenious freedom enthusiasts can devise plans and actions which will be successful in redeeming the Republic from our present dilemma. The important task is to get started. Crime, inflation and communism then be defeated and our Republic can be saved.

H. L. HUNT

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Sunday, Jan. 11, 1970
Write Face

Criticizing, to many, is easy and a pleasure; however, fault-finding is self-defeating if no attempt is made to suggest constructive alternatives. An excellent way to share your constructive ideas is to express them in letters to the editors, a section which is the second best-read part of any newspaper. Your constructive thoughts could help influence the thinking and opinions of thousands of concerned readers, many of whom could take and expand the thought you supply them.

H. L. HUNT

1401 Elm St., Dallas

The Dallas Morning News
Friday, December 3, 1971 2D

Stave Off Revolution

To The Dallas News:
The United States was on the opposite side from Germany in World War I and World War II and we won. Should we have lost either of these wars, the disaster might have been considered fatal, but a few refugees from the great German people may be effecting a more thorough take-over than their armed services could have hoped to achieve. Just a little diplomacy and a part of the students in liberal American colleges may have perfected their designs better than their emperors, premiers, presidents, etc., could have hoped to achieve.

Communists promoting the Karl Marx idea are more to be feared than the most belligerent of any people abroad. Our Republic can yet be easily saved by several patriots organizing and starting large or small crusades, for we the noncommunists outnumber the hard-core Communists by more than 10,000 to 1.

H. L. HUNT.

Dallas.

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Sunday, January 31, 1971
Gravest Danger

Press reports indicate that nearly \$1 million has been spent for the manuscript of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs. The document, supposedly authentic, will contribute some to the history of an era, but it should be kept in mind that Khrushchev's times were periods of unprecedented evil and agony in Russia.

His story reflects the terror of Stalin. It should also reflect the terror of Khrushchev who was as guilty of the machinations of communism as any other leader.

The Bolshevik regime was hatched in terror, in murder and plots for world-wide revolution. Nothing has changed basically since Lenin and Stalin and Khrushchev, and Nikita's message to the outside world shouldn't change our thinking. We must continue to fight communism or perish, and few can realize that our gravest danger is now.

H. L. HUNT

The Dallas Morning News
Tuesday, August 17, 1971
Need New Direction

To The Dallas News:
Business management has been thoroughly sold for 35 years that "you must not show love of country for you will disturb stockholders, alienate labor and lose customers." Socialists now have the public and the Nixon administration approving aid and trade to build up Soviet superiority in military equipment, including a huge truck factory in the Soviet Union, in international commerce, in the breeding of cattle, and nearly everything else that makes life worthwhile on this planet. Union labor may halt this crazy crusade.

Instead of building up Russian industry and military, we should be building jobs for workers and strength for the U.S.A. Every person should do all he can to prove that freedom is far better than slavery.

H. L. HUNT.

Dallas.

Joyous Crusade

Activities of the advocates of freedom and the truth-side should not offend anyone except those who are dedicated to the destruction of our republic. Defenders of freedom can hurt their own cause by being too harsh and grim. The freedom message is a great and joyous message and should be used as such. Patriots can often be most effective with a soft-sell technique. Then their enemies will be less effective with the unfair attacks on everything patriotic.

The good working people are becoming aroused to the dangers of crime and communism and when they become organized, in groups large or small, for the purpose of preserving our liberty under law, we can safeguard our Republic USA for the foreseeable future.

Nothing less than a joyous crusade is likely to be sufficient to save freedom.

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

The Dallas Morning News
Thursday, August 27, 1970
Patriot Vindicated

To The Dallas News:

In 1967, a few astute anticommunists predicted a turn to the right for Republic U.S.A. At that time the patriot was ridiculed and condemned by our leftist opinion molders.

The rioter and criminal were condoned in their actions by our highest elected officials. "Freedom" on the campus was the word of the day, even if it meant the destruction of that campus.

Gradually the turn to the right materialized. Left-leaning candidates are going to have trouble in elections all across the nation. Many columnists and commentators have shifted in their philosophy toward support of constructive thinking.

Violence, in the form of bombings and murders, and open assaults on our form of government have begun to awaken the sleeping majority and add impetus to the growing drive for truth and honesty.

The defamed patriot has been vindicated, and the Republic can still be saved by promptly starting crusades, large or even small.

H. L. HUNT.

The Dallas Morning News
January 6, 1971
Retreats Landslide

To The Dallas News:

Military geniuses who can win victories by retreating have been extremely rare in history. Victorious retreats in political and diplomatic life have been even more rare. Our nation seems to be trying to combine retreats in all three and then for good measure adding retreat from technological leadership as well.

The problem with retreat is that it gets to be a habit. Like an avalanche plunging down a mountainside, retreat—whether military, political or diplomatic—is most difficult to bring to a halt. Before it is too late, our national leaders should consider our plunge to second-rate status in naval power, rocketry and diplomacy, wherever Red Russia, now excelling in gas reserves and production, challenges us.

As our leaders should learn from history, whenever we retreat from threats and reduce our defense posture, we invite attack from those who hate freedom and Republic U.S.A. which is the only entity standing between communism and world rule.

H. L. HUNT.

Dallas.

DALLAS TIMES HERALD
Tuesday, Sept. 2, 1970
Help! Hippie!

Citizens of every country outside the Iron and Bamboo Curtain should prevail upon the governments to permit the refugees from slavery to try to oust the enslavers from the captive satellite nations. It is very stupid for people in free countries permit their governments to interfere with refugees who are trying to rescue their kinsmen and friends from Communist tyrants.

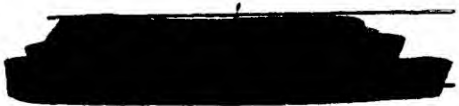
With the increase in crime and communist-inspired anarchy in our own nation, we are in no position to think: "It can't happen here." Those who are making war on our policemen are paving the way for those who would enslave us. The supposed "silent majority" must overcome its apathy. My newspaper column for dailies of Aug. 14 closed with a suggestion: "If you'd like policemen, next time you're in trouble, call a hippie!"

H. L. HUNT

Dallas

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Hunt Oil Company
2900 First National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas 75202

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 4, 1977

Contact: James C. Oberwetter
Office No. 741-3561
Residence 328-3365

A spokesman for Hunt Oil Company categorically denies that the late H.L. Hunt ever knew, ever communicated with or ever received communication from Lee Harvey Oswald.

A speculative news report in a local Dallas newspaper had indicated that Oswald allegedly sent a letter to an unidentified "Mr. Hunt" in early November, 1963. An inference was made in that story that the "Mr. Hunt" referred to in that letter may have been H.L. Hunt.

Now, on the basis of that speculative story, local broadcasts and at least one national news magazine have continued to report that H.L. Hunt may have received such a letter.

It is highly prejudicial to assume with absolutely no supportive evidence that the "Mr. Hunt" in the alleged letter refers to the late H.L. Hunt. Such unsubstantiated slurs against a man who is deceased and can no longer defend himself is shameful.

A public or private apology has been requested from the newspaper which printed the story initially.

-30-

ENCLOSURE

62-108867-22

ESTATE OF H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 1, 1977

Contact: James C. Oberwetter
Office: 741-3561
Residence: 328-3365
Spokesman for Estate of
H.L. Hunt

To the best of our knowledge, H.L. Hunt never met Mr. De Mohrenschildt nor had any business dealings with him whatsoever.

Any allegations by William Oltmans that H.L. Hunt was involved with De Mohrenschildt or Oswald in any way are figments of a strained and distorted imagination.

It is ludicrous to state that H.L. Hunt had anything to do with the assassination of President Kennedy.

Mrs. H.L. Hunt (living) denies categorically that De Mohrenschildt was ever in the Hunt home for any reason whatsoever.

To claim that De Mohrenschildt was a friend of H.L. Hunt's is totally false. Records of the Hunt family bear evidence to this fact. The De Mohrenschildt name never appeared on any of these records.

It has been publicly reported that De Mohrenschildt had a history of mental problems. If, in fact, De Mohrenschildt ever claimed to have had any relationship with H.L. Hunt, those claims must be viewed accordingly.

It is easy to generate publicity over the grave of a dead man who is no longer able to defend himself. Mr. Oltmans seems expert at it. The family of H.L. Hunt refuses to be savaged by Oltmans who attempts to discredit the memory of H.L. Hunt by vicious innuendo and unsubstantiated charges.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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